

0 MARCI *Nov. 5*
TULLII CICERONIS
EPISTOLARUM
AD FAMILIARES
TOMUS PRIMUS.



CANTABRIGIAE
TYPIS ACADEMICIS EXCUDEBAT J. BENTHAM.
A.M. DCC. XL. IX.

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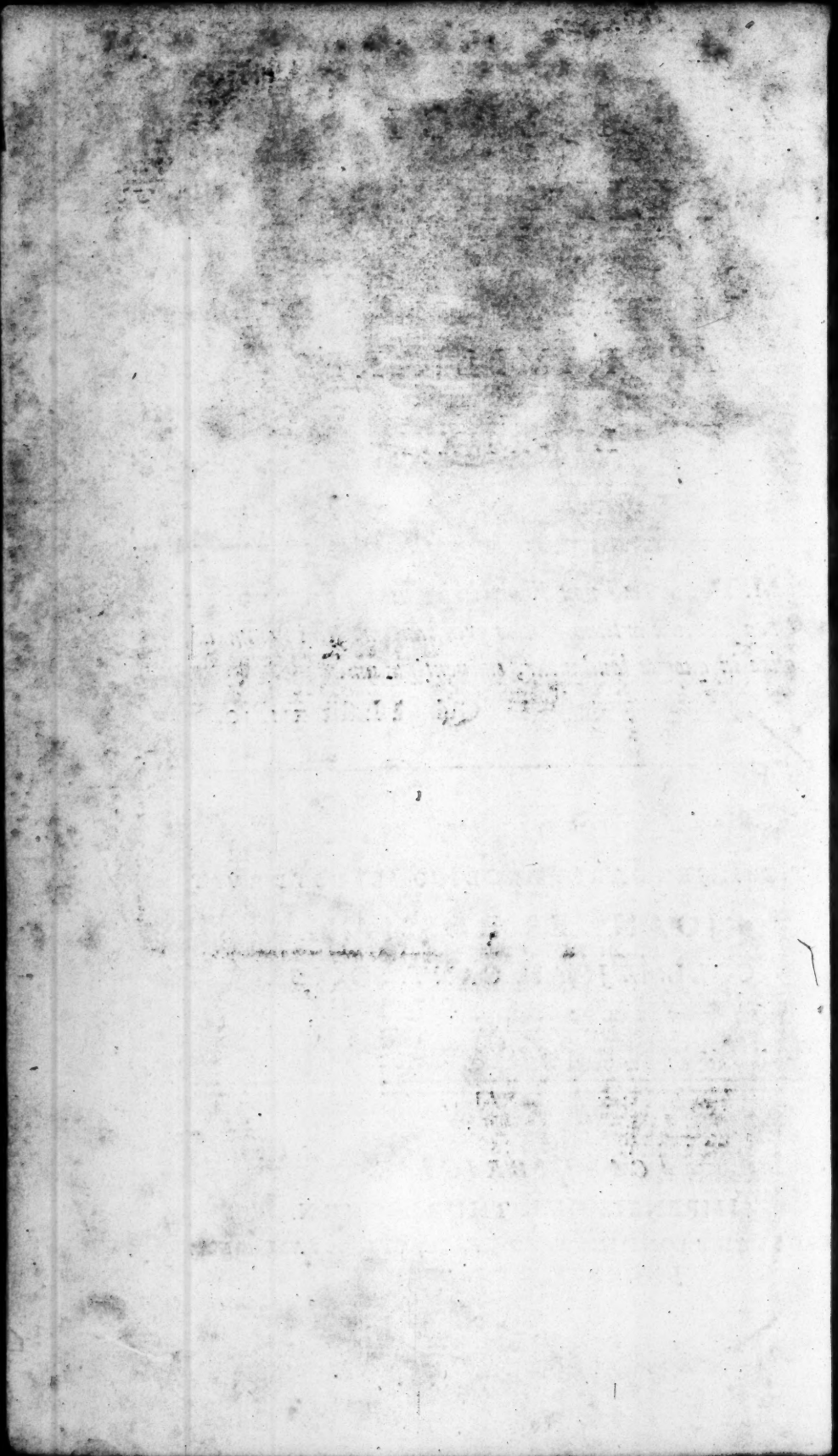
MARCI
TULLII CICERONIS
EPISTOLARUM
AD FAMILIARES
LIBRI XVI.

*At M. TULLIUM, non illum habemus EUPHRANOREM
circa plurium artium species praestantem, sed in omnibus,
quae in quoque laudantur, eminentissimum.*

Quintil. Instit. XII. 10.

EDIDIT,
ET COMMENTARIO ANGLICO ILLUSTRAVIT
JOANNES ROSS A.M.
COLL. D. JOAN. CANT. SOCIUS.

CANTABRIGIAE
IMPENSIS GUL. THURLBOURN.
PROSTANT LONDINI APUD J. BEECROFT, P. VAILLANT,
J. NOURSE, ET R. DODSLEY. —





Nobilissimo Illustrissimoq;

D^{no} D^{no}

J O A N N I

Comiti GOWER,

Vice-Comiti de TRENTHAM;

Baroni GOWER de SITTENHAM;

Augustissimo Britanniarum Regi

a Sanctioribus Consiliis,

Et Privati Sigilli Custodi.

SUMPSI hoc mihi, Vir Illustrissi-
me, pro tua in me benevolentia,
ut ad te, quasi tuo jure, pertinere judi-
a carem

DEDICATIO.

carem, si quod esset, siue ingenio meo, siue labore, perfectum. Quanquam enim intelligo nec te foenerari solere beneficia tua, nec me illis, quibus pro illorum magnitudine re referre non possum, verbis posse respondere; arripiendam tamen hanc mihi occasionem putavi, ut declararem, me et scire quantum tibi debeo, et debere lubenter.

In publicum itaque mei summi in te officii et observantiae testimonium magna haec maximi viri monumenta, nonnihil, uti spero, meis curis illustrata et emendata, in tuum patrocinium confidenter trado: cum enim summa tua humanitas, quam omnes tibi singularem tribuunt, tum M.TULLII CICERONIS
digni-

DEDICATIO.

dignitas efficit, ut expectem, te mei primi laboris, illius nomine commendati, tutelam et defensionem haud aegre suscepturum. Poterat enim ille, quem primum et ultimum vox liberae Romae PARENTEM PATRIAE salutavit, plurimum apud populares suos, gravissimos cives, in commendando valere: nec minus poterit apud te, virum et libertatis amore, et civili prudentia, et gravitate consilii, et summa denique in rebus agendis experientia insignem. Nam ea praecepta doctrinae ad civilis hominis institutionem tradidit, quae nemo unquam secutus fuit, sine summa utilitate; atque ea exempla ingenii, virtutis, integritatis ad imitationem proposuit, quae tu Britannicae juventuti commendata semper volueris,

DEDICATIO.

ac propria auctoritate et exemplo commendas.

Atque hoc in loco, pro nostrorum hominum more, possem magnifice loqui de Ciceronis eloquentia et summa in urbe dignitate, quam primus ex novis hominibus, longo post intervallo, una voce universi populi Romani consecutus fuit; possem eâdem ratione laudare tui generis nobilitatem, quae ex annalibus nostrae gentis vetustissimis eruenda est, et longa serie majorum tuorum virtutes commemorare, quibus in difficillimis temporibus et maxima celebritate reipublicae claruerunt; possem denique omnia haec ad tuam gloriam revocare, qui domesticis exemplis plus lucis attulisti, quam ab illis accepisti,

DEDICATIO.

cepisti, et hanc quasi haereditatem laudis et honorum, cum summo bonorum consensu amplificatam et adauctam, liberis et nepotibus traditurus es.

At reprimo meipsum: neque enim mihi res est aut cum scriptore plebeio aut obscuro et vulgari patrono; nec institui laudes omnibus notas et pervulgatas recensere. Hoc autem unice volui, ut hi sexdecim epistolarum libri sese in tuum conspectum pudenter offerrent, atque essent in meo nomine meaque absentia testes studii, diligentiae et voluntatis, qua te observo, et perpetuo observaturus sum.

Ut igitur vivas, et valeas, et eum in republica locum obtineas, qui et tuae
dig-

DEDICATIO.

dignitati, et bonorum expectationi, et
meis optatis respondeat, precatur,

Tibi,

Vir nobilissime,

omni obsequio

cultuque devotissimus

Dabam
e Coll. D. Joan. Cant.
xiv Kal. Mai.
A.M.DCC.XL.IX.

JOANNES ROSS.



MARCI
TULLII CICERONIS
EPISTOLARUM
AD FAMILIARES
LIBER I.

EPISTOLA I.

M. T. C. P. LENTULO PROCOS. S. D.

EGO¹ omni officio, ac potius pietate erga te
caeteris satisfacio omnibus, mihi ipse nun-
quam satisfacio. Tanta enim magnitudo est tuo-
rum erga me meritorum, ut quia tu, ² nisi per-
fecta re, de me non conquiesci; ego, quia non
idem in tua causa efficio, vitam mihi esse acerbam
putem. In causa haec sunt. Ammonius, regis le-
gatus, aperte pecunia nos oppugnat. Res agitur
per

per eosdem creditores, per quos, cum tu aderas, agebatur. Regis causa si qui sunt, qui velint, (qui pauci sunt) omnes rem ad Pompeium deferri volunt. ³ Senatus religionis calumniam non religione, sed malevolentia, et illius regiae largitionis invidia comprobatur. Pompeium et hortari, et orare, et jam liberius accusare, et monere, ⁴ ut magnam infamiam fugiat, non desistimus. Sed plane nec precibus nostris, nec admonitionibus relinquit locum. Nam cum in sermone quotidiano, tum in senatu palam sic egit causam tuam, ut neque eloquentia maiore quisquam, neque gravitate, nec studio, nec contentione agere potuerit, cum summa testificatione tuorum in se officiorum, et amoris erga te sui. ⁵ Marcellinum tibi esse iratum scis. Is, hac regia causa excepta, caeteris in rebus se acerrimum tui defensorem fore ostendit. Quod dat accipimus: quod instituit referre de religione, et saepe jam retulit, ab eo deduci non potest. Res ante idus acta sic est: nam haec idibus mane scripti. Hortensii, et mea, et Luculli sententia cedit religioni de exercitu; (teneri enim res aliter non potest) sed ex illo senatusconsulto, quod te referente factum est, tibi decernit, ut regem reducas; quod ⁶ commodum rem facere possis: ut exercitum religio tollat, te auctorem senatus retineat. Crassus tres legatos decernit, nec excludit Pompeium: censet

censet enim etiam ex iis, qui ⁷ cum imperio sunt.
 M. Bibulus tres legatos ex iis, qui privati sunt.
 Huic assentiuntur reliqui consulares, præter Ser-
 vilium; qui omnino reduci negat oportere: et
 Volcatium; qui, Lupo ⁸ referente, Pompeio de-
 cernit: et Afranium; qui assentitur Volcatio: quæ
 res auget suspicionem Pompeii voluntatis. Nam
 advertiebantur Pompeii familiares assentire Vol-
 catio. Laboratur vehementer. Inclinata res est.
 Libonis et Hypsæi non obscura concursatio et
 contentio, omniumque Pompeii familiarium stu-
 dium, in eam opinionem rem adduxerunt, ut
 Pompeius cupere videatur: cui qui nolunt, iidem
 tibi, quod eum ornasti, non sunt amici. Nos in
⁹ causa auctoritatem eo minorem habemus, quod
 tibi debemus. Gratiam autem nostram extin-
 guit hominum suspicio, quod Pompeio se grati-
 ficari putant. Ut in rebus multo ante, quam pro-
 fectus es, ab ipso rege, et ab intimis, ac domesti-
 cis Pompeii clam exulceratis; deinde palam a con-
 sularibus exagitatis, et in summam invidiam ad-
 ductis, ita versamur. Nostram fidem omnes, a-
 morem tui absentis præsentis tui cognoscent. Si
 esset in iis fides, in quibus summa esse debebat,
 non laboraremus. Vale.

EPISTOLA II.

M. T. C. P. LENTULO PROCOS. S. D.

IDIBUS¹ Januariis in senatu nihil est confectum, propterea quod dies magna ex parte consumptus est altercatione Lentuli consulis, et Caninii tribuni plebis. Eo die nos quoque multa verba fecimus: maximeque visi sumus senatum commemoratione tuae voluntatis erga illum ordinem commovere. Itaque postridie placuit, ut breviter sententias diceremus. Videbatur enim reconciliata nobis voluntas senatus esse: quod cum dicendo, tum singulis appellandis, rogandisque perspexeram. Itaque cum sententia prima Bibuli pronuntiata esset, ut tres legati regem reducerent: secunda Hortensii, ut tu sine exercitu reduceres: tertia Volcatii, ut Pompeius reduceret: postulatum² est, ut Bibuli sententia divideretur. Quatenus de religione dicebat, cuique rei jam obstiti non poterat, Bibulo assensum est: de tribus legatis frequentes ierunt in alia omnia. Proxima erat Hortensii sententia, cum³ Lupus, tribunus plebis, quod ipse de Pompeio retulisset, intendere coepit, ante se oportere discessionem facere, quam consules. Ejus orationi vehementer ab omnibus reclamatum est. Erat enim iniqua et nova. Consules neque concedebant, neque valde repugnabant.

bant. Diem consumi volebant: id quod est factum. Perspiciebant enim in Hortensii sententiam multis partibus plures ituros: quamquam aperte Volcatio assentirentur. Multi rogabantur, atque idipsum, consulibus invitis. ⁴Nam ii Bibuli sententiam valere cupierunt. Hac controversia usque ad noctem ducta, senatus dimissus: et ego eo die casu apud Pompeium coenavi: nactusque tempus hoc magis idoneum, quam unquam antea, quod post tuum discessum is dies honestissimus nobis fuerat in senatu, ita sum cum illo locutus, ut mihi viderer animum hominis ab omni alia cogitatione ad tuam tuendam dignitatem traducere: quem ego ipsum cum audio, prorsus eum libero omni suspitione cupiditatis: cum autem ejus familiares omnium ordinum video, perspicio, id quod jam omnibus est apertum, totam rem istam jampridem a certis hominibus, non invito rege ipso, consiliariisque ejus, esse corruptam. Haec scripsi ⁵a. d. xvi. kal. Febr. ante lucem. Eo die senatus erat futurus. Nos in senatu, quemadmodum spero, dignitatem nostram, ut potest in tanta hominum perfidia et iniquitate, retinebimus. Quod ⁶ad popularem rationem attinet, hoc videmur esse consecuti, ut ne quid agi cum populo aut salvis auspiciis, aut salvis ⁷legibus, aut denique sine vi possit. De his re-

bus pridie, quam haec scripsi, senatus auctoritas³ gravissima intercessit : cui cum ⁹Cato et Caninius intercessissent, tamen est perscripta. eam ad te missam esse arbitror. De caeteris rebus quidquid erit actum, scribam ad te : et, ut quam rectissime agantur omnia, mea cura, opera, diligentia, gratia providebo. Vale.

EPISTOLA III.

M.T.C. P. LENTULO PROCOS. S.D,

AULO¹ Trebonio, qui in tua provincia magna negotia, et ampla, et expedita habet, multos annos utor valde familiariter. Is cum antea semper et suo splendore, et nostra caeterorumque amicorum commendatione gratiosissimus in provincia fuit : tum hoc tempore propter tuum in me amorem, nostramque necessitudinem vehementer confidit his meis litteris se apud te gratiosum fore : quae ne spes eum fallat, vehementer rogo te : commendoque tibi ejus omnia negotia, libertos, procuratores, familiam : in primisque ut quae T.² Ampius de ejus re decreverit, ea comprobēs, omnibusque rebus eum ita tractes, ut intelligat meam commendationem non vulgarem fuisse. Vale.

EPIS-

EPISTOLA IV.

M.T.C. S.D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

AD. xvi. kal. Febr. ¹ cum in senatu pulcherrime staremus, quod jam illam sententiam Bibuli de tribus legatis ² pridie ejus diei fregeramus, unumque certamen esset relictum, sententia Volcatii, res ab adversariis nostris extracta est variis calumniis. causam enim frequenti senatu, in magna varietate, magnaue invidia eorum, qui a te causam regiam alio transferebant, obtinebamus. Eo die acerbum habuimus Curionem: Bibulum multo justiore; pene etiam amicum. Caninius, et Cato negarunt se legem ullam ante ³ comitia esse laturos. Senatus haberi ante kalendas Feb. per legem ⁴ Pupiam, id quod scis, non potest: neque mense Febr. toto, nisi perfectis, aut rejectis legationibus. Haec tamen opinio est populi R. a tuis invidis atque obtrectatoribus nomen inductum fictae religionis, non tam ut te impedirent, quam ut ne quis propter exercitus cupiditatem Alexandriam vellet ire. Dignitatis autem tuae, nemo est, quin existimet habitam esse rationem ab senatu. Nemo est enim, qui nesciat, quo minus discessio fieret, per adversarios tuos esse factum: qui nunc populi ⁵ nomine, re autem vera, sceleratissimo la-

trocinio, si quae conabuntur agere, satis provi-
sum est, ut ne quid salvis auspiciis, aut legibus,
aut jam sine vi agere possint. Ego neque de meo
studio, neque de nonnullorum injuria scriben-
dum mihi esse arbitror. Quid enim aut me o-
stentem? qui si vitam pro tua dignitate profun-
dam, nullam partem videar tuorum meritorum
affectus: aut de aliorum injuriis querar? quod
sine summo dolore facere non possum. Ego tibi
a vi, hac praesertim imbecillitate magistratum,
praestare nihil possum. Vi excepta, possum con-
firmare, te et senatus, et populi Rom. summo
studio, amplitudinem tuam retenturum. Vale.

EPISTOLA V.

M.T.C. P. LENTULO PROCOS. S.D.

TAMETSI¹ mihi nihil fuit optatius, quam
ut primum abs te ipso, deinde a caeteris o-
mnibus, quam gratissimus erga te esse cognoscerer:
tamen afficior summo dolore, ejusmodi tempo-
ra post tuam profectionem consecuta esse, ut et
meam, et caeterorum erga te fidem, et benevolen-
tiam absens experirere. Te videre et sentire, ean-
dem fidem esse hominum in tua dignitate, quam
ego in mea salute sum expertus, ex tuis literis in-
tellexi. Nos cum maxime consilio, studio, la-
+ bore, gratia de causa regia niteremur, subito e-
xorta

xorta est nefaria Catonis² promulgatio, quae nostra studia impediret, et animos a minore cura ad summum timorem traduceret. Sed tamen in huiusmodi perturbatione rerum quamquam omnia sunt metuenda, nihil magis quam perfidiam timeamus: et Catoni quidem, quoquo modo se res habeat, profecto resistimus. De Alexandrina re, causaeque regia tantum habeo polliceri, me tibi absenti, tuisque praesentibus cumulate satisfacturum. Sed vereor ne aut eripiatur causa regia nobis, aut deferatur: quorum utrum minus velim, non facile possum existimare. Sed, si res coget, est quiddam tertium, quod neque Selicio, nec mihi displicebat: ut neque jacere regem pateremur, nec, nobis repugnantibus, ad eum deferri, ad quem prope iam delatum existimatur. A nobis agentur omnia diligenter: ut nec, si quid obtineri poterit, non contendamus: nec, si quid non obtinuerimus, repulsi esse videamur. Tuae sapientiae, magnitudinisque animi est, omnem amplitudinem, et dignitatem tuam in virtute, atque in rebus gestis tuis, atque in tua gravitate positam existimare. Si quid ex iis rebus, quas tibi fortuna largita est, nonnullorum hominum perfidia detraxerit, id majori illis fraudi, quam tibi futurum. A me nullum tempus praetermittitur de tuis rebus et agendi, et cogitandi: utorque ad omnia

omnia Q. Selicio: neque enim prudentiorem quemquam ex tuis, neque fide majore esse iudico, neque amantiorem tui.

Hic quae ³ agantur, quaeque acta sint, ea te et literis multorum, et ~~puntiis~~ ^{punctis} cognoscere arbitror: quae autem posita sunt in conjectura, quaeque mihi videntur fore, ea puto tibi a me scribi oportere. Posteaquam ⁴ Pompeius apud populum a. d. ¹¹ idus Febr. cum pro Milone diceret, clamore convicioque jactatus est, in senatuque a Catone asperere et acerbe nimium magno silentio est accusatus, visus est mihi vehementer esse perturbatus. Itaque Alexandrina causa, quae nobis adhuc integra est, (nihil enim tibi detraxit senatus, nisi id, quod per eandem religionem dari non potest,) videtur ab illo plane esse deposita. Nunc id speramus, idque molimur, ut, cum rex intelligat, sese id, quod cogitabat, ut a Pompeio reducatur, assequi non posse: et, nisi per te sit restitutus, desertum se atque abjectum fore, proficiscatur ad te. Quod sine ulla dubitatione, si Pompeius paulum modo ostenderit sibi placere, faciet. Sed nosti hominis tarditatem, et taciturnitatem. Nos tamen nihil, quod ad eam rem pertineat, praetermittimus. caeteris injuriis, quae propositae sunt a Catone, facile, ut spero, resistemus. Amicum ex consularibus neminem tibi esse

esse video, praeter Hortensium, et Lucillum : caeteri sunt partim obscurius iniqui, partim non dissimulanter irati. Tu fac animo forti magnoque sis, speresque fore ut, fracto impetu levissimi hominis, tuam pristinam dignitatem et gloriam consequare.

EPISTOLA VI.

M.T.C. P. LENTULO PROCOS. S.D.

QUAE^r gerantur accipies ex Pollione: qui omnibus negotiis non interfuit solum, sed praefuit. Me in summo dolore, quem in tuis rebus capio, maxime scilicet consolatur spes, quod valde suspicor fore, ut infringatur hominum improbitas et consiliis tuorum amicorum, et ipsa die; quae debilitat cogitationes et inimicorum, et proditorum. Facile secundo loco me consolatur recordatio meorum temporum, quorum imaginem video in rebus tuis. Nam etsi minore in re violatur tua dignitas, quam mea afflicta sit: tamen est tanta similitudo, ut sperem te mihi ignoscere, si ea non timuerim, quae ne tu quidem unquam timenda duxisti. Sed praesta te eum, qui mihi a teneris, ut Graeci dicunt, unguiculis es cognitus. Illustrabit, mihi crede, tuam amplitudinem hominum injuria. A me omnia summa in te studia officiaque exspecta. non fallam opinionem tuam. Vale.

E P I S-

EPISTOLA VII.

M.T.C. P. LENTULO PROCOS. S.D.

LEGI¹ tuas literas, quibus ad me scribis, gratum tibi esse, quod crebro certior per me fias de omnibus rebus, et meam erga te benevolentiam facile perspicias : quorum alterum mihi, ut te plurimum diligam, facere necesse est, si volo is² esse, quem tu me esse voluisti : alterum facio libenter ; ut, quoniam intervallo locorum et temporum³ disjuncti sumus, per literas tecum quam saepissime colloquar. Quod si rarius fiet, quam tu exspectabis, id erit causae, quod non ejus generis meae literae sunt, ut eas audeam temere committere. Quoties mihi certorum hominum potestas erit, quibus recte dem, non praetermittam. Quod scire vis, qua quisque in te fide sit et voluntate, difficile dictu est de singulis. unum illud audeo, quod antea tibi saepe significavi, nunc quoque, re perspecta et cognita, scribere : vehementer quosdam homines, et eos maxime, qui te et maxime debuerunt, et plurimum juvare potuerunt, invidisse dignitati tuae : simillimamque in re dissimili tui temporis nunc, et nostri quondam fuisse rationem : ut, quos tu reip. causa laeseras, palam te oppugnarent ; quorum auctoritatem, dignitatem, voluntatemque defenderas,

deras, non tam memores essent virtutis tuae, quam laudis inimici. Quo quidem tempore, ut perscripsi ad te antea, cognovi Hortensium ⁴percupidum tui, studiosum Lucullum, ex magistratibus ⁵ autem L. Racilius et fide, et animo singulari. nam nostra propugnatio ac defensio dignitatis tuae, propter magnitudinem beneficii tui, fortasse plerisque officii maiorem auctoritatem habere videatur, quam sententiae. Praeterea quidem de consularibus nemini possum aut studii erga te, aut officii, aut amici animi esse testis. Etenim Pompeium, qui mecum saepissime, non solum a me provocatus, sed etiam sua sponte de te communicare solet, scis temporibus illis non saepe in senatu fuisse. Cui quidem literae tuae, quas proxime miseras, quod facile intellexerim, preiucundae fuerunt. Mihi quidem humanitas tua, vel summa potius sapientia, non iucunda solum sed etiam admirabilis visa est. Virum enim excellentem, et tibi tua praestanti in eum liberalitate devinctum, nonnihil suspicantem, propter aliquorum opinionem suae cupiditatis, te ab se abalienatum, illa epistola retinui. Qui mihi cum semper tuae laudi favere visus est, etiam ipso suspiciosissimo tempore ⁶Caniniano: tum vero, lectis tuis literis, perspectus est a me toto animo de te, ac de tuis ornamentis, et commodis

modis cogitare. Quare ea, quae scribam, sic habeto, me, cum illo re saepe communicata, de illius ad te sententia atque auctoritate scribere : quoniam senatusconsultum nullum exstat, quo reductio regis Alexandrini tibi ademta sit : eaque, quae de ea scripta est, auctoritas, (cui scis intercessum esse,) ut ne quis omnino regem reduceret, tantam vim habet, ut magis iratorum hominum studium, quam constantis senatus consultum 'esse videatur. Te perspicere posse, qui Ciliciam, Cyprumque teneas, quid efficere, et quid consequi possis : et, si res facultatem habitura videatur, ut Alexandriam, atque Aegyptum tenere possis, esse et tuae, et nostri imperii dignitatis, Ptolemaide, aut aliquo propinquo loco rege collocato, te cum classe, atque exercitu proficisci Alexandriam : ut, cum eam pace praefidiisque firmaris, Ptolemaeus redeat in regnum : ita fore ut per te restituatur, quemadmodum senatus initio censuit : et sine multitudine reducatur, quemadmodum homines religiosi Sibyllae placere dixerunt. Sed haec sententia sic et illi, et nobis probabatur, ut ex eventu homines de tuo consilio existimatuos videremus : si cecidisset ut volumus, et optamus, omnes te sapienter, et fortiter : sin aliquid esset offensum ; eosdem illos et cupide et temere fecisse dicturos. Quare quid

quid assequi possis, non tam facile est nobis, quam tibi, cujus prope in conspectu Aegyptus est, judicare. Nos quidem hoc sentimus: si exploratum tibi sit, posse te illius regni potiri; non esse cunctandum: si dubium; non esse conandum. Illud tibi affirmo, si rem istam ex sententia gesseris, fore ut absens a multis; cum redieris, ab omnibus collaudere. Offensionem esse periculosam propter interpositam auctoritatem, religionemque video. Sed ego te ut ad certam laudem adhortor, sic a dimicatione deterreo, redeoque ad illud, quod initio scripsi, totius facti tui iudicium non tam ex consilio tuo, quam ex eventu homines esse facturos. Quod si haec ratio rei gerendae periculosa tibi esse videbitur, placebat illud, ut, si rex amicis tuis, qui per provinciam imperii tui pecunias ei credidissent, fidem suam praestitisset; et auxiliis eum tuis, et copiis adjuvares. Eam esse naturam et rationem provinciae tuae, ut illius reditum vel adjuvando confirmares, vel negligendo impedires. In hac ratione quid res, quid causa, quid tempus ferat, tu facillime optimeque perspicias: quid nobis placuisset, ex me potissimum putavi te scire oportere. Quod mihi de nostro statu, de Milonis familiaritate, de levitate et imbecillitate Clodii gratularis, minime miramur te tuis, ut egregium

gregium artificem, praeclaris operibus laetari :
quamquam est incredibilis hominum perversitas, graviori enim verbo uti non libet, qui nos, quos favendo in communi causa retinere poterunt, invidendo abalienarunt : quorum malevolentissimis obrectationibus nos scito de veterere illa nostra diuturnaue sententia prope jam esse depulso, non nos quidem ut nostrae dignitatis simus obliti, sed ut habeamus rationem aliquando etiam salutis. Poterat utrumque praeclare, si esset fides, si gravitas in hominibus consularibus. Sed tanta est in plerisque levitas, ut eos non tam constantia in repub. nostra delectet, quam splendor offendat. Quod eo libentius ad te scribo, qui non solum temporibus iis, quae per te sum adeptus, sed etiam olim nascenti prope nostrae laudi, dignitati, virtutique praefuisti : simulque quod video, non, ut antehac putabam, ⁸ novitati esse invisum meae : in te enim homine omnium nobilissimo similia invidorum vitia perspexi, quem tamen illi esse in principibus facile sunt passi, evolare altius certe noluerunt. Gaudeo tuam dissimilem fuisse fortunam. Multum enim interest, utrum laus imminuatur, an salus deferatur. Me meae tamen ne nimis poeniteret, tua virtute perfectum est. Curaisti enim, ut plus additum ad memoriam nominis

nominis nostri, quam dēmtum de fortuna vide-
 retur. Te vero moneo cum beneficiis tuis, tum
 amore incitatus meo, ut omnem gloriam, ad
 quam a pueritia inflammatus fuisti, omni cura
 atque industria consequere : magnitudinemque
 animi tui, quam ego semper sum admiratus,
 semperque amavi, ne unquam inflectas cujus-
 quam injuria. Magna est hominum opinio de
 te, magna commendatio liberalitatis, magna me-
 moria consulatus tui. Haec profecto vides, quanto
 expressiora, quantoque illustriora futura sint ;
 cum aliquantum ex provincia, atque ex imperio,
 laudis accesserit. Quanquam te ita gerere volo,
 quae per exercitum, atque imperium gerenda
 sunt, ut haec multo ante meditare, huc te pares,
 haec cogites, ad haec te exerceas, sentiasque id,
 quod quia semper sperasti, non dubito quin a-
 deptus intelligas, te facillime posse obtinere sum-
 mum atque altissimum gradum civitatis. Quae
 quidem mea cohortatio ne tibi inanis, aut sine
 causa suscepta videatur, illa me ratio movit, ut
 te ex nostris eventis communibus admonendum
 putarem, ut considerares in omni reliqua vita
 quibus crederes, quos caveres. Quod scribis te
 velle scire, qui sit reip. status : summa dissensio
 est, sed contentio dispar. Nam qui plus opibus,
 armis, potentia valent, profecisse tantum mihi vi-
 dentur

dentur stultitia et inconstantia adversariorum, ut etiam auctoritate ⁹jam plus valerent. Itaque per paucis adversantibus, omnia, quae ne per populum quidem sine seditione se assequi posse arbitrabantur, per senatum consecuti sunt. Nam et stipendium Caesari decretum est, et decem legati: et ne lege Sempronia ¹succederetur, facile perfectum est. Quod ad te brevius scribo, quia me status hic reip. non delectat: scribo tamen ut te admoneam, quod ipse literis omnibus a pueritia deditus, experiendo tamen magis, quam discendo cognovi; tu rebus tuis integris discas, neque salutis nostrae rationem habendam nobis esse sine dignitate, neque dignitatis sine salute. Quod mihi de filia et de Crassipede ²gratularis, agnosco humanitatem tuam: speroque et opto nobis hanc conjunctionem voluptati fore. Lentulum nostrum, eximia spe summae virtutis adolescentem, cum caeteris artibus, quibus studuisti semper ipse, tum in primis imitatione tui fac erudias. Nulla enim erit hac praestantior disciplina: quem nos, et quia tuus, et quia te dignus est filius, et quia nos diligit, semperque dilexit, in primis amamus, carumque habemus.

EPISTOLA VIII.

M.T.C. P. LENTULO PROCOS. S.D.

DE ¹omnibus rebus, quae ad te pertinent,  quid actum, quid constitutum sit, quid Pompeius susceperit, optime ex M. Plaetorio cognosces: qui non solum interfuit his rebus, sed etiam praefuit: neque ullum officium erga te hominis amantissimi, prudentissimi, diligentissimi praetermisit. Ex eodem de toto statu rerum communium cognosces: quae quales sint, non facile est scribere. Sunt quidem certe in amicorum ²nostrorum potestate, atque ita, ut nullam mutationem unquam hac hominum aetate habitura res esse videatur. Ego quidem, ut debeo, et ut tute mihi praecepisti, et ut me pietas utilitasque cogit, me ad ejus ³rationes adjungo, quem tu in meis rationibus tibi esse adjungendum putasti: sed te non praeterit, quam sit difficile, sensum in repub. praesertim rectum et confirmatum deponere. Veruntamen ipse me conformo ad ejus voluntatem, a quo honeste dissentire non possum: neque id facio, ut forsitan quibusdam videar, simulatione. Tantum enim animi inductio, et mehercule amor erga Pompeium apud me valet, ut, quae illi utilia sunt, et quae ille vult, ea mihi omnia jam et recta et vera videantur.

antur. neque, ut ego arbitror, errarent, ne adversarii quidem ejus, si, cum pares esse non possent, pugnare desisterent. Me quidem etiam illa res consolatur, quod ego is sum, cui vel maxime concedant omnes, ut vel ea defendam, quae Pompeius velit, vel taceam, vel etiam, id quod mihi maxime lubet, ad nostra me studia referam litterarum: quod profecto faciam, si mihi per ejusdem amicitiam licebit. quae enim proposita fuerant nobis, cum et honoribus amplissimis, et laboribus maximis perfuncti essemus, dignitas in sententiis dicendis, libertas in repub. capeffenda; ea sublata tota: sed nec mihi magis, quam omnibus. Nam aut assentiendum est nulla cum gravitate paucis, aut frustra dissentiendum. Haec ego ad te ob eam causam maxime scribo, ut jam de tua quoque ratione meditere. Commutata tota ratio est senatus, judiciorum, rei totius publicae. Otium nobis exoptandum est: quod ii, qui potiuntur rerum, praestaturi videntur, si quidam homines patientius eorum potentiam ferre potuerint. Dignitatem quidem illam consularem fortis et constantis senatoris nihil est quod cogitemus: amissa est culpa⁴ eorum, qui a senatu et ordinem conjunctissimum, et hominem clarissimum abalienarunt. Sed ut ad ea, quae conjunctiora rebus tuis sunt, revertar; Pompeium

ium tibi valde amicum esse cognovi: eo tu consule, quantum ego perspicio, omnia quae voles obtinebis: quibus in rebus me sibi ille affixum habebit: neque a me ulla res, quae ad te pertineat, negligetur. Neque enim verebor ne sim ei molestus: cui iucundum erit etiam propter idipsum, quod me esse gratum videbit. Tu velim tibi ita persuadeas, nullam rem esse minimam, quae ad te pertineat, quae mihi non carior sit, quam meae res omnes. Idque cum sentiam, sedulitate mihimet ipse satisfacere possum: re quidem ipsa ideo mihi non satisfacio, quod nullam partem tuorum meritorum non modo referenda, sed ne cogitanda quidem gratia consequi possum. Rem te valde bene gessisse rumor erat. expectabantur literae tuae: de quibus eramus jam cum Pompeio locuti: quae si erunt allatae, nostrum studium exstabit in convenientis magistratibus, et senatoribus. Caetera, quae ad te pertinebunt, cum etiam plus contenderimus, quam possumus, minus tamen faciemus, quam debemus.

EPISTOLA IX.

M.T.C. P. LENTULO IMPERATORI.
S. D.

PERJUCUNDAE¹ mihi fuerunt literae tuae, quibus intellexi te perspicere meam in te pietatem : quid enim dicam benevolentiam, cum illud ipsum gravissimum et sanctissimum nomen pietatis levius mihi meritis erga me tuis esse videatur? quod autem tibi grata mea erga te studia scribis esse, facis tu quidem abundantia quadam amoris, ut etiam grata sint ea, quae praetermitti sine nefario scelere non possunt. Tibi autem multo notior, atque illustrior meus in te animus esset, si hoc tempore² omni, quo diiuncti fuimus, et una, et Romae fuisset. Nam in eo ipso, quod te ostendis esse facturum, quodque et in primis potes, et ego a te vehementer expecto; in sententiis senatoriis; et in omni actione, atque administratione reip. floruissemus. De qua ostendam equidem paulo post, qui sit meus sensus, et status : et rescribam tibi ad ea, quae quaeris : sed certe et ego te auctore amicissimo ac sapientissimo, et tu me consiliario fortasse non imperitissimo, fideli quidem, et benevolo certe, usus esses : quanquam tua quidem causa esse³ imperatorem, provinciamque bene gestis

gestis rebus cum exercitu victore obtinere, ut debeo, laetor. Sed certe qui tibi ex me fructus debentur, eos uberiores, et praesentiores praesens capere potuisses. In eis vero ulciscendis, quos tibi partim inimicos esse intelligis propter tuam propugnationem salutis meae, partim invidere propter illius actionis amplitudinem et gloriam, mirificum me tibi comitem praebuissim: quamquam ille ⁴ perennis inimicus amicorum suorum, qui tuis maximis beneficiis ornatus, in te potissimum fractam illam, et debilitatam vim suam contulit, ¹ nostram vicem ultus est ipse sese. Est enim ea conatus, quibus patefactis, nullam sibi in posterum, non modo dignitatis, sed ne libertatis quidem partem reliquit. Te autem etsi mallem in meis rebus expertum, quam etiam in tuis, tamen in molestia gaudeo, eam fidem cognosse hominum, non ita magna ⁵ mercede, quam ego maximo dolore cognoram. De qua ratione tota jam videtur mihi exponendi tempus dari, ut tibi rescribam ad ea, quae quaeris. Certiorem te per literas scribis esse factum, me cum Caesare, et cum Appio esse in gratia: teque id non reprehendere adscribis. Vatinius autem, scire te velle ostendis, quibus rebus adductus defenderim et laudarim. Quod tibi ut planius exponam, altius paulo rationem consiliorum meorum repetam

neceſſe eſt. Ego me, Lentule, initio rerum, atque actionum tuarum, non ſolum meis, ſed etiam reipublicae reſtitutum putabam: et, quoniam tibi incredibilem quendam amorem, et omnia in te ipſum ſumma ac ſingularia ſtudia deberem; reipublicae, quae te in me reſtituendo multum adjuviſſet, eum certe me animum merito ipſius debere arbitrabar, quem antea tantummodo communi officio civium, non aliquo erga me ſingulari beneficio debitum praefitiſſem. Hac me mente fuiſſe, et ſenatus ex me, te ⁶ conſule, audivit, et tu in noſtris ſermonibus, colloctionibusque ipſe vidisti. Eſſi jam primis temporibus illis, multis rebus meus offendebatur animus: cum, te agente de reliqua noſtra dignitate, aut occulta nonnullorum odia, aut obſcura in me ſtudia cernebam. Nam neque de ⁷ monumentis meis ab iis adjutus es, a quibus debuisti: neque de vi nefaria, qua cum fratre eram domo expulſus, neque hercule in iis ipſis rebus, quae, quanquam erant mihi propter rei familiaris naufragia neceſſariae, tamen a me minimi putabantur, in meis damnis ex auctoritate ſenatus reſarciendis, eam voluntatem, quam expectaram, praefititerunt. Quae cum viderem, neque enim erant obſcura, non tamen tam acerba mihi haec accidebant, quam erant illa grata, quae fecerant.

Itaque

Itaque quanquam et Pompeio plurimum, te quidem ipso praedicatore ac teste, debebam, et eum non solum beneficio, sed amore etiam, et perpetuo quodam iudicio meo diligebam: tamen non reputans quid ille vellet, in omnibus meis sentiis de rep. pristinis permanebam. Ego, sedente Cn. Pompeio, cum, ut laudaret P.³Sextium, introiisset in urbem, dixissetque testis Vatinus, me fortuna et felicitate C. Caesaris commotum illi amicum esse coepisse, dixi me eam ⁹Bibuli fortunam, quam ille afflictam putaret, omnium triumphis victoriisque anteferre: dixique eodem teste, alio loco, eosdem esse, qui Bibulum exire domo prohibuissent, et qui me coëgissent. Tota vero interrogatio mea nihil habuit, nisi reprehensionem illius tribunatus: in quo omnia dicta sunt libertate animoque maximo, de vi, de auspiciis, de donatione regnorum. neque vero hac in causa modo, sed constanter saepe in senatu. Quin etiam, Marcellino et Philippo consulibus, nonis April. Mihi est senatus assensus, ut de agro Campano, frequenti senatu, idibus Maiis referretur. Num potui magis in arcem illius causae invadere, aut magis oblivisci temporum meorum, meminisse actionum? hac a me sententia dicta, magnus animorum factus est motus, cum eorum, quorum oportuit; tum illorum

illorum etiam, quorum nunquam putaram. Nam hoc senatusconsulto in meam sententiam facto, Pompeius, cum mihi nihil ostendisset se esse offensum, in Sardiniam, et in Africam profectus est, eoque itinere Lucam ad Caesarem venit. Ibi multa de mea sententia questus est Caesar, quippe qui etiam Ravennae Crassum ante vidisset, ab eoque in me esset incensus. Sane moleste Pompeium id ferre constabat: quod ego cum audissem ex aliis, maxime ex meo fratre cognovi, quem cum in Sardinia Pompeius paucis post diebus, quam Luca discefferat, convenisset: te, inquit, ipsum cupio: nihil opportunius potuit accidere: nisi cum Marco fratre diligenter egeris, dependendum tibi est, quod mihi pro illo spondesti. Quid multa? questus est graviter: sua merita commemoravit: quid egisset saepissime de actis Caesaris cum ipso meo fratre, quidque sibi is de me recepisset, in memoriam redegit: seque, quae de mea salute egisset, voluntate Caesaris egisse, ipsum meum fratrem testatus est: cujus causam dignitatemque mihi ut commendaret, rogavit, ut eam ne oppugnarem, si nollem, aut non possem tueri. Haec cum ad me frater pertulisset, et cum ante tamen Pompeius ad me cum mandatis Vibullium misisset, ut integrum² mihi de causa Campana ad suum reditum

tum reservarem, collegi ipse me, et cum ipsa quasi repub. collocutus sum: ut mihi tam multa pro se perpesso, atque perfuncto, concederet, ut officium meum, memoremque in benemeritos animum, fidemque fratris mei praestarem: eumque, quem bonum civem semper habuisset, bonum virum esse pateretur. In illis autem meis actionibus, sententiisque omnibus, quae Pompeium videbantur offendere, ³ certorum hominum, quos jam debes suspicari, sermones referebantur ad me: qui cum illa sentirent in repub. quae ego agebam, semperque sensissent; me tamen non satisfacere Pompeio, Caesaremque inimicissimum mihi futurum, gaudere se ajebant. Erat hoc mihi dolendum: sed multo illud magis, quod inimicum meum, (meum autem? immo vero legum, judiciorum, otii, patriae, bonorum omnium) sic amplexabantur, sic in manibus habebant, sic fovebant, sic me praesente osculabantur: non illi quidem, ut mihi stomachum facerent, quem ego funditus perdidici, sed certe ut facere se arbitrantur. Hic ego, quantum humano consilio efficere potui, circumspectis rebus meis omnibus, rationibusque subductis, summam feci cogitationum mearum omnium; quam tibi, si potero, breviter exponam. Ego, si ab improbis, et perditis civibus remp. teneri viderem, sicut

ficut et meis + temporibus scimus, et nonnullis aliis accidisse accepimus, non modo praemiis, quae apud me minimum valent, sed ne periculis quidem compulsus ullis, quibus tamen moventur etiam fortissimi viri, ad eorum causam me adjungerem, ne si summa quidem eorum in me merita constarent. Cum autem in repub. Cn. Pompeius princeps esset, vir is, qui hanc potentiam, et gloriam maximis in remp. meritis, praestantissimisque rebus gestis esset consecutus, cujusque ego dignitatis ab adolescentia fautor, in praetura autem et in consulatu adjutor etiam exstitissem: cumque idem auctoritate et sententia per se, consiliis et studiis tecum me adjuvisset: meumque inimicum unum in civitate haberet inimicum: non putavi famam inconstantiae mihi pertimescendam, si quibusdam in sententiis paulum me immutasssem, meamque voluntatem ad summi viri, de meque optime meriti dignitatem aggregasssem. In hac sententia complectendus erat mihi Caesar, ut vides, in conjuncta et causa et dignitate. Hic multum valuit cum vetus amicitia, quam tu non ignoras mihi et Q. Fratri cum Caesare fuisse, tum humanitas ejus ac liberalitas, brevi tempore et literis et officiis perspecta nobis et cognita. Vehementer etiam res ipsa publica me movit, quae mihi

mihi videbatur contentionem, praesertim maximis rebus a Caesare gestis, cum illis viris nolle fieri: et, ne fieret, vehementer recusare. Gravissime autem me in ⁵ hac mente impulit et Pompeii fides, quam de me Caesari dederat: et fratris mei, quam Pompeio. Erant praeterea haec animadvertenda in civitate, quae sunt apud Platonem nostrum scripta divinitus: quales in republica principes essent, tales reliquos solere esse cives. Tenebam memoria, nobis consulibus, ea ⁶ fundamenta iacta ex kalendis Ianuariis confirmandi senatus, ut neminem mirari oporteret, nonis Decembris tantum vel animi fuisse in illo ordine, vel auctoritatis. Idemque memineram, nobis privatis usque ad Caesarem et Bibulum consules, cum sententiae nostrae magnum in senatu pondus haberent, unum fere sensum fuisse bonorum omnium. Postea cum tu ⁷ Hispaniam citeriorem cum imperio obtineres, neque resp. consules haberet, sed mercatores provinciarum, et seditionum servos ac ministros: jecit quidam casus caput ⁸ meum, quasi certaminis causa in mediam contentionem, dissensionemque civilem. Quo in discrimine cum mirificus senatus, incredibilis Italiae totius, singularis omnium bonorum consensus in me tuendo exstitisset: non dicam, quid acciderit; multorum est

est enim, et varia culpa: tantum dicam brevi, non mihi exercitum, sed duces defuisse. In quo, ut jam fit in iis culpa, qui me non defenderunt; non minor est in iis, qui reliquerunt: et, si accusandi sunt, si qui pertimuerunt; magis etiam reprehendendi, si qui se ⁹timere simularunt. Illud quidem certe nostrum consilium jure laudandum est, qui meos cives et a me conservatos, et me servare cupientes, spoliatos ducibus, servis armatis objici noluerim: declararique maluerim, quanta vis esse potuisset in consensu bonorum, si iis pro me stante pugnare licuisset; cum afflictum excitare potuissent. Quorum quidem animum tu non perspexisti solum, cum de me ageres, sed etiam confirmasti atque tenuisti. Qua in causa, (non modo non negabo, sed etiam semper et meminero, et praedicabo libenter,) usus es quibusdam nobilissimis ¹hominibus, fortioribus in me restituendo, quam fuerant iidem in tuendo: qua in sententia si constare voluissent, suam auctoritatem simul cum salute mea recuperassent. Recreatis ²enim bonis viris consulatione tuo, et constantissimis atque optimis actionibus tuis excitatis, Cn. Pompeio praesertim ad causam adjuncto, cum etiam Caesar, rebus maximis gestis, singularibus ornatus et novis honoribus, ac judiciis senatus, ad auctoritatem
ejus

ejus ordinis adjungeretur; nulli improbo civi locus ad remp. violandam esse potuisset. Sed attende, quaeso, quae sunt consecuta. Primum illa ³ furia muliebrium religionum, qui non pluris fecerat Bonam deam, quam tres sorores; impunitatem est illorum sententiis affecutus, qui, cum tribunus pleb. poenas a seditioso cive per bonos viros iudicio persequi vellet, exemplum praeclarissimum in posterum vindicandae seditionis de rep. sustulerunt: iidemque postea non meum monumentum, (non enim illae manubiae meae, sed operis locatio mea fuerat,) monumentum vero senatus, hostili nomine, et cruentis iniustum literis esse passi sunt. Qui me homines quod salvum esse voluerunt, est mihi gratissimum: sed vellem non solum salutis meae, quemadmodum medici, sed ut aliptae etiam virium et coloris rationem habere voluissent. Nunc, ut Appelles Veneris caput, et summa pectoris politissima arte perfecit, reliquam partem corporis inchoatam reliquit: sic quidam homines in capite meo solum elaborarunt: reliquum corpus imperfectum ac rude reliquerunt. In quo ego spem fefelli non modo invidorum, sed etiam inimicorum meorum: qui de uno acerrimo et fortissimo viro, meoque iudicio, omnium magnitudine animi et constantia praestantissimo, Q. Metello
Lucii

⁴Lucii filio, quondam falsam opinionem acceperunt, quem post reditum dictitant fracto animo et demisso fuisse. Est vero probandum, qui et summa voluntate cesserit, et egregia animi alacritate abfuerit, neque sane redire curarit, eum ob id ipsum fractum fuisse; in quo cum omnes homines, tum M. illum ⁵Scaurum, singularem virum, constantia et gravitate superasset. Sed quod de illo acceperant, aut etiam suspicabantur, de me idem cogitabant, abjectiore animo me futurum: cum resp. majorem etiam mihi animum quam unquam habuissem, daret: quae declarasset, se non potuisse me uno cive carere: cumque Metellum unius tribuni ⁶plebis rogatio, me universa resp. duce senatu, comitante Italia, promulgantibus omnibus, referente consule, comitiis centuriatis, cunctis ordinibus, hominibus incumbantibus, omnibus denique suis viribus recuperasset. Neque vero ego mihi postea quidquam assumsi, neque hodie assumo, quod quemquam malevolentissimum jure possit offendere. Tantum enitor, ut neque amicis, neque etiam alienioribus, opera, consilio, labore desim. Hic meae vitae cursus offendit eos fortasse, qui splendorem et speciem hujus vitae intuentur: sollicitudinem autem et laborem perspicere non possunt. Illud vero non obscure queruntur
in

in meis sententiis, quibus ornem Caesarem, quasi desciverim a pristina causa. Ego autem cum illa sequor, quae paulo ante proposui, tum hoc non in postremis, de quo coeperam exponere. Non offendes eundem bonorum sensum, Lentule, quem reliquisti : qui confirmatus consulatu nostro, nonnunquam postea interruptus, afflictus ante te consulem, recreatus abs te totus est : nunc ab iis, a quibus tuendus fuerat, derelictus : idemque non solum fronte atque vultu, quibus simulatio facillime sustinetur, declarant ii, qui tum nostro illo statu optimates ⁷ nominabantur : sed etiam sensu saepe jam tabellaque docuerunt. Itaque tota jam sapientium civium, qualem me et esse et numerari volo, et sententia et voluntas mutata esse debet. Id enim jubet idem ille Plato, quem ego vehementer auctorem sequor, Tantum contendere in republica quantum probare tuis civibus possis : vim neque parenti, neque patriae afferre oportere. Atque hanc quidem ille causam sibi ait non attingendae reipublicae fuisse : quod cum offendisset populum Atheniensem prope jam desipientem senectute, ⁸ cumque cum nec persuadendo nec cogendo regi posse vidisset, cum persuaderi posse diffiderit, cogi fas esse non arbitraretur. Mea ratio fuit alia, quod neque desiciente populo, neque integra re mihi ad consulendum,

sulendum, capefferemne rempublicam implicatus tenebar. Sed laetatus tamen sum, quod mihi liceret in eadem causa et mihi utilia et cuivis bono recta defendere. Huc accessit commemoranda quaedam, et divina Caesaris in me fratremque meum liberalitas: qui mihi, quas cumque res gereret, tuendus esset. Nunc in tanta felicitate tantisque victoriis, etiamsi in nos non is esset, qui est, tamen ornandus videretur. Sic enim te existimare velim, cum a vobis meae salutis auctoribus discefferim, neminem esse, cujus officiis me tam esse devinctum non solum confitear, sed etiam gaudeam. Quod quoniam tibi exposui, facilia sunt ea, quae a me de Vatinius et de Crasso requiris. Nam de Appio quod scribis, sicuti de Caesare, te non reprehendere: gaudeo consilium tibi probari meum. De Vatinius autem, primum reditus intercesserat in gratiam per Pompeium, statim ut ille praetor est factus; cum quidem ego ejus petitionem gravissimis in senatu sententiis oppugnassem, neque tam illius laedendi causa, quam defendendi, atque ornandi Catonis. Post autem Caesaris, ut illum defenderem, mira contentio est consecuta. Cur autem laudari, peto a te, ut id a me neve in hoc reo, neve in aliis requiras: ne tibi ego idem reponam cum veneris: tametsi possum vel absenti. Recordare enim, quibus

quibus laudationem ex ultimis terris miseris. Nec hoc pertimueris : nam a me ipso laudantur, et laudabuntur iidem. Sed tamen defendendi Vatinii fuit etiam ille stimulus, de quo in iudicio, cum illum defenderem, dixi me facere quiddam, quod in Eunucho parasitus suaderet militi :

Ubi nominabit Phaedriam, tu Pamphilam Continuo. Si quando illa dicet, Phaedriam Intromittamus commissatum : tu, Pamphilam Cantatum provocemus. Si laudabit haec Illius formam : tu hujus contra. Denique Par pari referto, quod eam mordeat.

Sic petivi a iudicibus, ut, quoniam quidam nobiles homines et de me optime meriti, nimis amarent inimicum⁹ meum : meque inspectante saepe eum in senatu modo severe seducerent, modo familiariter atque hilare amplexarentur : quoniamque illi haberent suum Publium : darent mihi ipsi alium Publium, in quo possem illorum animos, mediocriter laceffitus, leviter repungere. Neque solum dixi : sed etiam saepe facio, diis hominibusque approbantibus. Habes de Vatinio : cognosce de Craffo. Ego cum mihi cum illo magna jam gratia esset, quod ejus omnes gravissimas injurias, communis concordiae causa, voluntaria quadam oblivione contriveram, repentinam ejus defensionem¹ Gabinii, quem proximis superioribus

ribus diebus acerrime oppugnasset, tamen si sine ulla mea contumelia suscepisset, tulissem: sed cum me disputantem, non laceffientem laeffisset, exarfi non solum praesenti, credo, iracundia, nam ea tam vehemens fortasse non fuisset, sed cum inclusum illud odium multarum ejus in me injuriarum, quod ego effudisse me omne arbitrabar, residuum tamen insciente me fuisset, omne repente apparuit. Quo quidem tempore ipso, quidam homines, et iidem illi quos saepe nutu significationeque appello, cum se maximum fructum cepisse dicerent ex libertate mea, meque tum denique sibi esse visum reipublicae, qualis fuisset restitutum, cumque ea contentio mihi magnum etiam foris fructum tulisset: gaudere se dicebant, mihi et illum inimicum et eos, qui in eadem causa essent, nunquam amicos futuros. Quorum iniqui sermones cum ad me per homines honestissimos perferrentur: cumque Pompeius ita contendisset ut nihil unquam magis, ut cum Crasso redirem in gratiam, Caesarque per literas maxima se molestia ex illa contentione affectum ostenderet: habui non temporum solum rationem meorum, sed etiam naturae. Crassusque, ut quasi testata populo Romano esset nostra gratia, paene a meis laribus in provinciam est profectus. Nam cum mihi condixisset, cenavit apud me in mei generi Crassipedis hortis.

Quamo-

Quamobrem ejus ²causam, quod te scribis audisse, magna illius commendatione susceptam, defendi in senatu, sicut mea fides postulabat. Accepisti quibus rebus adductus, quamque rem causamque defenderim: quique meus in republica sit pro mea parte capeffenda status. De quo sic velim statuas, me haec eadem sensurum fuisse, si mihi integra omnia ac libera fuissent. Nam neque pugnandum arbitrarer contra tantas opes: neque delendum, etiamsi id fieri posset, summorum civium principatum: neque permanendum in una sententia, conversis rebus, ac bonorum voluntatibus immutatis: sed temporibus assentiendum. Nunquam enim praestantibus in republica gubernanda viris laudata est in una sententia perpetua permanfio: sed ut in navigando tempestati obsequi artis est, etiamsi portum tenere non queas: cum vero id possis mutata verificatione assequi, stultum est eum tenere cum periculo cursum quem ceperis, potius quam, eo commutato, quo velis tandem pervenire: sic, cum omnibus nobis in administranda republica propositum esse debeat id, quod a me saepissime dictum est, cum dignitate otium: non idem semper dicere, sed idem semper spectare debemus. Quamobrem, ut paulo ante posui, si essent omnia mihi solutissima, tamen in republica non alius essem atque nunc sum. Cum vero in hunc

sensum

sensum et alliciar beneficiis hominum, et compellar injuriis : facile patior ea me de republica sentire ac dicere, quæ maxime³ cum mihi, tum etiam reipublicæ rationibus putem conducere. Apertius autem hæc ago, ac sæpius, quod et Q. Frater meus, legatus est Caesaris, et nullum meum minimum dictum, non modo factum, pro Caesare intercessit, quod ille non ita illustri gratia exceperit, ut ego eum mihi devinctum putarem. Itaque ejus omni et gratia, quæ summa est, et opibus, quas intelligis esse maximas, sic fruor, ut meis. Nec mihi aliter potuisse videor hominum perditorum de me consilia frangere, nisi cum praesidiis iis, quæ semper habui, nunc etiam potentium benevolentiam conjunxissem. His ego consiliis si te praesentem habuissem, ut opinio mea fert, essem usus eisdem. Novi enim temperantiam et moderationem naturæ tuæ : novi animum tum mihi amicissimum, tum nulla in ceteros malevolentia suffusum ; contraque cum magnum et excelsum, tum etiam apertum et simplicem. Vidi ego quosdam in te tales, quales tu eosdem in me videre potuisti. Quæ me moverunt, movissent eadem te profecto. Sed, quocumque tempore mihi potestas praesentis tui fuerit, tu eris omnium moderator consiliorum meorum. Tibi erit eidem, cui salus mea fuit, etiam dignitas curæ. Me quidem

dem certe tuarum actionum, sententiarum, voluntatum, rerum denique omnium socium comitemque habebis: neque mihi in omni vita res tam erit ulla proposita, quam ut quotidie vehementius te de me optime meritum esse laetere. Quod rogas ut mea tibi scripta mittam, quae post discessum tuum scripserim: sunt orationes quaedam, quas Menocrito dabo: neque ita multae, ut pertimescas. Scripsi etiam, nam ab orationibus disjungo me fere, referoque ad mansuetiores musas: quae me maxime, sicut jam a prima adolescentia delectarunt, scripsi igitur Aristoteleo more, quemadmodum quidem volui, tres libros in disputatione ac dialogo de ⁴ Oratore, quos arbitror Lentulo tuo fore non inutiles. Abhorrent enim a communibus praeceptis: ac omnem antiquorum, et Aristoteleam et Isocrateam rationem oratoriam complectuntur. Scripsi etiam versibus tres libros de temporibus meis: quos jam pridem ad te misissem, si esse edendos putassem. Sunt enim testes, et erunt sempiterni meritorum erga me tuorum meaeque in te pietatis. Sed quia verebar, non eos, qui se laesos arbitrentur, etenim id feci parce et molliter, sed eos, quos erat infinitum bene de me meritos omnes nominare. Quos tamen ipsos libros, si quem cui recte comittam invenero, curabo ad te perferendos. Atque istam quidem partem vitae consuetudinisque

tudinisque nostrae totam ad te defero. Quantum literis, quantum studiis, veteribus nostris delectationibus, consequi poterimus, id omne ad arbitrium tuum, qui haec semper amasti, libentissime conferemus. Quae ad me de tuis rebus domesticis scribis, quaeque mihi commendas, ea tantae mihi curae sunt, ut me nolim admoneri: rogari vero sine magno dolore vix possum. Quod de Quinti⁵ Fratris negotio scribis, te priore aestate, quod morbo impeditus in Ciliciam non transieris, conficere non potuisse: nunc autem omnia facturum ut conficias: id scito esse ejusmodi, ut frater meus vere existimet, adjuncto isto fundo, patrimonium fore suum per te constitutum. Tu me de tuis rebus omnibus, et de Lentuli tui nostrisque studiis et exercitationibus, velim quam familiarissime certiore et quam saepissime facias: existimesque, neminem cuiquam neque cariorum neque jucundiorum unquam fuisse, quam te mihi: idque me non modo ut tu sentias, sed ut omnes gentes, etiam ut posteritas omnis intelligat esse facturum. Appius⁶ in sermonibus antea dictitabat: postea dixit etiam in senatu palam, sese, si licitum esset legem curiatam ferre, sortitum esse cum collega provinciam: si curiata lex non esset, se paraturum cum collega, tibi que successurum: legemque curiatam consuli ferre opus esse, necesse non esse: se, quoniam

ex senatusconsulto provinciam haberet, lege Cornelia imperium habiturum, quoad in urbem introisset. Ego quid ad te tuorum quisque necessarium scribat, nescio: varias esse opiniones intelligo. Sunt qui putent posse te non decedere, quod sine lege curiata tibi succedatur: sunt etiam, qui, si decedas, a te relinqui posse qui provinciae praesit. Mihi non tam de jure certum est, quanquam ne id quidem valde dubium est, quam illud ad tuam summam amplitudinem, dignitatem, liberalitatem, qua te scio libentissime frui solere, pertinere, te sine ulla mora provinciam successoris concedere, praesertim cum sine suspitione tuae cupiditatis non possis illius cupiditatem refutare. Ego utrumque meum puto esse, et quid sentiam, ostendere, et quod feceris, defendere.

Scripta jam epistola superiore, accepi tuas literas de publicanis: quibus aequitatem tuam non potui non⁷ probare. Felicitate quidem, vellem, consequi potuisses, ne ejus ordinis, quem semper ornasti, rem aut voluntatem offenderes. Equidem non desinam tua decreta defendere: sed nosti consuetudinem hominum. Scis quam graviter inimici ipsi illi Q.⁸ Scaevolae fuerint. Tibi tamen sum auctor, ut si quibus rebus possis, cum tibi ordinem aut reconcilies aut mitiges. Id etsi difficile est, tamen mihi videtur esse prudentiae tuae. Vale.

EPIS-

EPISTOLA X.

M. T. C. S. D. L. VALERIO, JURISCONSULTO.

CUR¹ enim tibi hoc non gratificer, nescio: praesertim cum his temporibus audacia pro sapientia liceat uti. Lentulo nostro egi per literas tuo nomine gratias diligenter. Sed tu velim desinas jam nostris literis uti, et nos aliquando revisas: et ibi malis esse ubi aliquo numero sis, quam istic ubi solus sapere videre. Quamquam qui istinc veniunt, partim te superbum² esse dicunt, quod nihil respondeas: partim contumeliosum, quod male respondeas. Sed jam cupio tecum coram jocari. Quare fac ut quamprimum venias, neque in³ Apuliam tuam accedas, ut possimus, salvum venisse, gaudere. Nam illo si veneris, tanquam Ulysses, cognosces tuorum neminem. Vale.





MARCI
TULLII CICERONIS
EPISTOLARUM
AD FAMILIARES
LIBER II.

EPISTOLA I.

M. T. C. C. CURIONI. S. D.

QUANTQUAM ¹ me nomine negligentiae
suspectum tibi esse doleo, tamen non tam
mihi molestum fuit accusari abs te officium me-
um, quam jucundum requiri: praesertim cum
in quo accusabar, culpa vacarem: in quo autem
desiderare te significabas meas literas, prae te fer-
res, perspectum mihi quidem, sed tamen dulcem
et

et optatum amorem tuum. Equidem neminem praetermisi, quem quidem ad te perventurum putarem, cui literas non dederim. Etenim quis est tam scribendo impiger quam ego? a te vero bis terve summum, et eas perbreves accepi. Quare si iniquus es in me iudex, condemnabo eodem ego te crimine: sin me id facere noles, te mihi aequum praebere debebis. Sed de literis haftenus. Non enim vereor ne non scribendo te expleam: praesertim si in eo genere studium meum non aspernabere. Ego te abfuisse tamdiu a nobis et doleo, quod carui fructu jucundissimae consuetudinis: et laetor, quod absens omnia cum maxima dignitate es consecutus: quodque in omnibus tuis rebus, meis optatis fortuna respondit. Breve est quod me tibi praecipere meus incredibilis in te amor cogit: tanta est expectatio vel animi vel ingenii tui, ut ego te obsecrare obtestarique non dubitem, sic ad nos conformatus revertare, ut quam expectationem tui concitasti, hanc sustinere ac tueri possis. Et quoniam meam tuorum erga me meritorum memoriam ulla nunquam delebit oblivio, te rogo, ut memineris, quantaecunque tibi accessiones fient et fortunae et dignitatis, eas te non potuisse consequi, nisi meis puer² olim fidelissimis atque amantissimis consiliis paruisses. Quare hoc
animo

AD FAMILIARES LIB.

animo in nos esse debebis, ut aetas ³ nostra jam ingravescent in amore atque in adolescentia tua conquiescat. Vale.

EPISTOLA II.

M.T.C. C. CURIONI S.D.

GRAVI ¹ teste privatus sum amoris summi
erga te mei, patre tuo, clarissimo ² viro :
qui cum suis laudibus, tum vero te filio superasset omnium fortunam, si ei contigisset, ut te ante videret, quam a vita discederet. Sed spero nostram amicitiam non egere testibus. Tibi patrimonium dii fortunent. Me certe habebis, cui et carus aequae sis et jucundus, ac fuisti patri.

EPISTOLA III.

M.T.C. C. CURIONI. S.D.

RUPAE ¹ studium non defuit declarandum munerum ² tuo nomine : sed nec mihi placuit, nec cuiquam tuorum quidquam te absente fieri, quod tibi, cum venisses, non esset integrum. Equidem quid sentiam, aut scribam ad te postea pluribus, aut, ne ad eam ³ meditare, imparatum te offendam, coramque contra istam rationem, meam dicam : ut aut te in meam sententiam adducam : aut certe testatum apud animum tuum relinquam, quid senserim :
ut

ut si quando, quod nolim, displicere ⁴ tibi consilium tuum coeperit, possis meum recordari. Brevi tamen sic habeto, in eum statum temporum tuum reditum incidere, ut iis bonis, quae tibi natura, studio, fortuna data sunt, facilius omnia, quae sunt amplissima in republica consequi possis, quam muneribus: quorum neque facultatem quisquam admiratur, (est enim copiarum, non virtutis,) neque quisquam est, quin satietate jam defessus sit. Sed aliter atque ostenderam, facio, qui ingrediar ad explicandam rationem sententiae meae. Quare omnem hanc disputationem in adventum tuum differo. Summa scito in expectatione te esse, eaque a te expectari quae a summa virtute summoque ingenio expectanda sunt: ad quae si es, ut debes, paratus, quod ita esse confido, plurimis maximisque muneribus et nos amicos et cives tuos universos et rempublicam afficies. Illud cognosces profecto, mihi te neque cariorum, neque jucundiorum esse quemquam.

EPISTOLA IV.

M.T.C. C. CURIONI. S.D.

EPISTOLARUM ¹ genera multa esse non ignoras: sed unum illud certissimum, cuius causa inventa res ipsa est, ut certiores faceremus

remus absentes, si quid esset, quod eos scire, aut nostra aut ipsorum interesset. Hujus generis literas a me profecto non expetis. Tuarum enim rerum domesticarum habes et scriptores, et nuntios. In meis autem rebus nihil est sane novi. Reliqua sunt epistolarum genera duo, quae me magnopere delectant: unum familiare et jocosum: alterum severum et grave. Utro me minus deceat uti, non intelligo. Jocerne tecum per literas? civem mehercule non puto esse, qui temporibus his ridere possit. An gravius aliquid scribam? quid est quod possit graviter a Cicerone scribi ad Curionem, nisi de republica. Atque in hoc genere haec mea causa est, ut neque ea, quae non sentio, velim scribere. Quamobrem, quoniam mihi nullum scribendi argumentum relictum est, utar ea clausula, qua soleo, teque ad studium summae laudis cohortabor. Est enim tibi gravis adversaria constituta, et parata, incredibilis quaedam expectatio: quam tu una re facillime vinces, si hoc statueris, quarum laudum gloriam adamaris, quibus artibus eae laudes comparantur, in iis esse elaborandum. In hanc sententiam scriberem plura, nisi te tua sponte satis incitatum esse confiderem: et hoc quidquid attigi, non feci inflammandi tui causa, sed testificandi amoris mei. Vale.

EPISTOLA V.

M.T.C. C. CURIONI. S.P.D.

HAEC ¹ negotia quomodo se habeant, ne epistola quidem narrare audeo. Tibi, etsi ubicunque es, ut scripsi ad te antea, in eadem es navi, tamen quod abes gratulor: vel quia non vides ea, quae nos: vel quod excelsa et illustri loco sita sit laus tua, in plurimorum et sociorum et civium conspectu: quae ad nos nec obscuro ² nec vario sermone, sed et clarissima et una omnium voce perfertur. Unum illud nescio, gratulerne tibi, an timeam, quod mirabilis est expectatio reditus tui: non quo verear, ne tua virtus opinioni hominum non respondeat: sed, mehercule, ne cum veneris, non habeas jam quod cures: ita sunt omnia debilitata jam, prope et extincta. Sed haec ipsa nescio rectene sint literis commissa: quare caetera cognosces ex aliis. Tu tamen sive habes aliquam spem de republica, sive desperas, ea para, meditare, cogita, quae esse in eo civi ac viro debent, qui sit rempublicam afflictam et oppressam miseris temporibus ac perditis moribus, in veterem dignitatem et libertatem vindicaturus. Vale.

EPIS-

EPISTOLA VI.

M. T. C. C. CURIONI S. P. D.

NONDUM ¹erat auditum te ad Italiam adventare, cum Sextum Villium, Milonis mei familiarem, cum his ad te literis misi. Sed tamen cum appropinquare tuus adventus putaretur, et te jam ex Asia Romam versus profectum esse constaret, magnitudo rei fecit, ut non vereremur, ne nimis cito mitteremus, cum has quam primum ad te perferri literas magnopere vellemus. Ego si mea in te essent officia solum, Curio, tanta, quanta magis a te ipso praedicari, quam a me ponderari solent; verecundius a te, si qua magna res mihi petenda esset, contenderem. Grave est enim homini pudenti, petere aliquid magnum ab eo, de quo se bene meritum putet: ne id, quod petat, exigere magis quam rogare, et in mercedis potius, quam beneficii loco numerare videatur. Sed quia tua in me vel nota omnibus, vel ipsa ²novitate meorum temporum clarissima et maxima beneficia exstiterunt: estque animi ingenui, cui multum debeas, eidem plurimum velle debere: non dubitavi id a te per literas petere, quod mihi omnium esset maximum, maximeque necessarium. Neque enim sum veritus, ne sustinere tua in me vel innumerabilia beneficia

D

neficia non possem : cum praesertim confiderem, nullam esse gratiam tantam, quam non vel capere animus meus in accipiendo, vel in remunerando cumulare atque ³ illustrare posset. Ego omnia mea studia, omnem operam, curam, industriam, cogitationem, mentem denique omnem in Milonis consulatu fixi, et locavi : statuique in eo me non officii solum fructum, sed etiam pietatis laudem debere quaerere. Neque vero cuiquam salutem ac fortunas suas tantae curae fuisse unquam puto, quantae mihi sit honos ejus, in quo omnia mea posita esse decrevi. Huic te unum tanto adjumento esse, si volueris, posse intelligo, ut nihil sit praeterea nobis requirendum. Habemus haec omnia : bonorum studium conciliatum ex ⁴ tribunatu, propter nostram, ut spero te intelligere, causam : vulgi ac multitudinis, propter magnificentiam ⁵ munerum, liberalitatemque naturae : juvenutis et gratiosorum in suffragiis studia, propter ipsius excellentem in eo genere vel gratiam, vel diligentiam : nostram suffragationem, si minus potentem, at probatam tamen et justam et debitam et propterea fortasse etiam gratiosam. Dux nobis et auctor opus est, et eorum ventorum, quos proposui, moderator quidam et quasi gubernator : qui si ex omnibus unus optandus esset,

esset, quem tecum conferre possemus, non haberemus. Quamobrem, si me memorem, si gratum, si bonum virum, vel ex hoc ipso, quod tam vehementer de Milone laborem, existimare potes: si dignum denique tuis beneficiis iudicas: hoc a te peto, ut subvenias huic meae sollicitudini, ut huic meae laudi, vel, ut verius dicam, prope salutem tuum studium dices. De ipso T. Annio tum tibi polliceor, te majoris animi, gravitatis, constantiae benevolentiaeque erga te, si complecti hominem volueris, habiturum esse neminem. Mihi vero tantum decoris, tantum dignitatis adjunxeris, ut eundem te facile agnoscam fuisse in laude mea, qui fueris in salute. Ego, si te videre scirem, cum ad te haec scriberem, quantum officii sustinerem, quantopere mihi esset in hac petitione Milonis omni non modo contentione, sed etiam dimicatione elaborandum, plura scriberem. Nunc tibi omnem rem atque causam, meque totum commendo atque trado. Unum hoc sic habeto: si a te hanc rem impetraro, me pene plus tibi, quam ipsi Miloni debiturum. Non enim mihi tam mea salus cara fuit, in qua praecipue sum ab illo adjutus, quam pietas erit in referenda gratia, jucunda. Eam autem unius tui studio me assequi posse confido. Vale.

EPISTOLA VII.

M.T.C. PROCONSUL C. CURIONI,
TRIBUNO PL. S.D.

SERA gratulatio ¹ reprehendi non solet, praefertim si nulla negligentia praetermissa est. Longe enim absum : audio sero. Sed tibi et gratulor, et, ut sempiternae laudi tibi sit iste tribunatus, exopto : teque hortor, ut omnia gubernes et moderere prudentia tua, ne te auferant aliorum consilia. Nemo est qui tibi sapientius suadere possit teipso : nunquam labere, si te audies. Non scribo hoc temere : cui scribam, video : novi animum, novi consilium tuum. Non vereor ne quid timide, ne quid stulte facias, si ea defendes, quae ipse recta esse senties. Quod in id republicae tempus non incideris, sed veneris, iudicio² enim tuo, non casu in ipsum discrimen rerum contulisti tribunatum tuum, profecto vides, quanta vis in republica temporum sit, quanta varietas rerum, quam incerti exitus, quam flexibiles hominum voluntates : quid insidiarum, quid vanitatis in vita, non dubito quin cogites. Sed, amabo te, cura et cogita nihil novi, sed illud idem, quod initio scripsi : tecum loquere et te adhibe in consilium, te audi, tibi obtempera. Alteri qui melius dare consilium possit, quam
tu,

tu, non facile inveniri potest: tibi vero ipsi certe nemo melius dabit. Dii immortales, cur ego non adsum vel spectator laudum tuarum, vel particeps, vel socius, vel minister consiliorum? tametsi hoc minime tibi deest, sed tamen efficeret magnitudo et vis amoris mei, consilio te ut possem juvare. Scribam ad te plura alias. Paucis enim diebus eram missurus domesticos tabellarios: ut, quoniam sane feliciter, et ex mea sententia rempublicam gessimus, unis literis totius aestatis res gestas ad senatum perscriberem. De sacerdotio³ tuo quantam curam adhibuerim, quanquam difficili in re atque causa, cognosces ex iis literis, quas Tharasoni, liberto tuo, dedi. Te, mi Curio, pro tua incredibili in me benevolentia, meaque item in te singulari, rogo atque oro, ne patiare quidquam mihi ad hanc provincialem molestiam temporis prorogari. Praesens tecum egi, cum te tribunum plebis isto anno fore non putarem: itemque petivi saepius per literas: sed tum quasi a senatore nobilissimo, et adolescente gratiosissimo: nunc a tribuno plebis, et a Curione tribuno: non ut decernatur aliquid novi: quod solet esse difficilius: sed ut ne quid novi decernatur: et ut senaticonsultum et leges defendas: eaque mihi conditio maneat, qua profectus sum. Hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Vale.

EPISTOLA VIII.

M.T.C. IMP. CANINIO SALLUSTIO
PROQUAESTORI S.D.

LITERAS¹ a te mihi stator tuus reddidit Tarfi
a. d. xvi kal. Sextiles. His ergo ordine,
ut videris velle, respondebo. De successore meo
nihil audiui, nec quenquam fore arbitror. Quin
ad diem decedam, nulla causa est, praesertim sub-
lato metu Parthico. Commoraturum me nus-
quam sane arbitror. Rhodum, Ciceronum cau-
sa puerorum, accessurum puto: neque id tamen
certum. Ad urbem volo quam primum venire,
sed tamen iter meum reipublicae et rerum urba-
narum ratio gubernabit. Successor tuus non potest
ita maturare ullo modo, ut tu me in Asia possis
convenire. De rationibus² referendis, non erat
incommodum te nullam referre, quam tibi scri-
bis a Bibulo fieri potestatem. Sed id vix mihi
videris per legem Juliam facere posse: quam Bi-
bulus certa quadam ratione non servat: tibi mag-
nopere servandam censeo. Quod scribis, Apa-
mea praesidium deduci non oportuisse, videbam
idem caeteros existimare: molesteque ferebam de
ea re minus commodos sermones malevolorum
fuisse. Parthi transferint, necne, praeter te video
dubitare neminem. Itaque omnia praesidia, quae
magna et firma paraveram, commotus hominum
non

non dubio sermone dimisi. Rationes mei quaestoris nec verum fuit me tibi mittere, nec tamen erant confectae. Eas nos Apameae deponere cogitabamus. De praeda mea, praeter quaestores urbanos, id est, populum Romanum teruncium nec attigit, nec tacturus est quisquam. Laodiceae me praedes accepturum arbitror omnis pecuniae publicae, ut et mihi, et populo cautum sit sine venturae periculo. Quod scribis ad me de drachmis CCCLIII. nihil est quod in isto genere cuiquam possim commodare. Omnis enim pecunia ita tractatur ut praeda³ a praefectis: quae autem mihi attributa est, a quaestore curetur. Quod quaeris, quid existimem de legionibus, quae decretae sunt in Syriam: antea dubitabam venturae essent; nunc mihi non est dubium, quin si antea auditum erit otium esse in Syria, venturae non sint. Marium quidem successorem tarde video esse venturum, propterea quod senatus ita decrevit, ut cum legionibus iret. Uni epistolae respondi: venio ad alteram. Petis ut Bibulo te quam diligentissime commendem: in quo mihi voluntas non deest: sed locus esse videtur tecum exoptulandi. Solus enim tu ex omnibus, qui cum Bibulo sunt, certiore me nunquam fecisti, quam valde Bibuli voluntas a me sine causa abhorreret. Permulti enim ad me detulerunt, cum magnus Antiochiae metus esset, et magna

spes in me atque in exercitu meo, solitum dicere, quidvis se perpeti malle, quam videri eguisse auxilio meo. Quod ego officio quaestorio te adductum reticere de praetore tuo, non moleste ferebam: quanquam, quemadmodum tractare, audiebam. Ille autem, cum ad Thermum de Parthico bello scriberet, ad me literam nunquam misit: ad quem intelligebat ejus belli periculum pertinere. Tantum de ⁴auguratu filii sui scripsit ad me: in quo ego misericordia commotus, et quod semper amicissimus Bibulo fui, dedi operam, ut ei quam humanissime scriberem. Ille si omnibus est malevolus, quod nunquam existimavi, minus offendor in me: fin autem a me est alienior, nihil tibi meae literae proderunt. Nam ad senatum quas Bibulus literas misit, in iis, quod mihi cum illo erat commune, sibi soli attribuit: se ait curasse, ut cum quaestu populi pecunia permutaretur. Quod autem meum erat proprium, ut alariis ⁵Transpadanis, uti negarem, id etiam populo se remisisse scribit. Quod vero illius erat solius, id mecum communicat: equitibus auxiliariis, inquit, cum amplius frumenti postularem. Illud vero pusilli animi, et ipsa malevolentia jejuni atque inanis, quod Ariobarzanem, quem senatus per me regem appellavit mihiq; commendavit, iste in literis non regem, sed regis Ariobarzani filium appellat. Hoc animo

mo qui sunt, deteriores fiunt rogati. Sed tibi morem gessi: literas ad eum scripsi, quas cum acceperis, facies, quod voles. Vale.

EPISTOLA IX.

M.T.C. IMP. C. COELIO L.F.C.N. CAL-
DO QUAESTORI. DES. S.D.

CUM ¹optatissimum nuntium accepissem te mihi quaestorem ²obtigisse, eo jucundior mihi eam sortem sperabam fore, quo diutius in provincia mecum fuisses. Magni enim videbatur interesse, ad eam necessitudinem, quam nobis fors tribuisset, consuetudinem quoque accedere. Posteaquam mihi nihil neque a te ipso, neque ab ullo alio de adventu tuo scriberetur, verebar ne id ita caderet, quod etiam nunc vereor, ne ante, quam tu in provinciam venisses, ego de provincia decederem. Accepi autem a te missas literas in Cilicia, cum essem in castris, a.d. x. kal. Quintiles, scriptas humanissime, quibus facile et officium et ingenium tuum perspicere posset. Sed neque unde, neque quo die datae essent, atque quo tempore te expectarem, significabant: nec is, qui attulerat, a te acceperat, ut ex eo scirem quo ex loco, et quo tempore essent datae. Quae cum essent incerta, existimavi tamen esse faciendum, ut ad te statores meos et lictores cum literis mitterem: quas si satis opportuno

portuno tempore accepisti, gratissimum mihi feceris, si ad me in Ciliciam quam primum veneris. Nam quod ad me Curius³, consobrinus tuus, mihi, ut scis, maxime necessarius, quod item C. Virgilius⁴ propinquus tuus, familiarissimus noster, de te accuratissime scripsit, valet id quidem apud me multum, sicuti debet hominum amicissimorum diligens commendatio: sed tuae literae, de tua praesertim dignitate et de nostra conjunctione, maximi sunt apud me ponderis. Mihi quaestor optatior obtingere nemo potuit. Quamobrem quaecunque⁵ a me ornamenta ad te proficiscentur, ut omnes intelligant, a me habitam esse rationem tuae majorumque tuorum dignitatis. Sed id facilius consequar si ad me in Ciliciam veneris: quod ego et mea, et reipublicae, et maxime tua interesse arbitror. Vale.





MARCI
TULLII CICERONIS
EPISTOLARUM
AD FAMILIARES
LIBER III.

EPISTOLA I.

M.T.C. APPIO PULCHRO IMP. S.D.

SI ipsa respublica tibi narrare posset quomodo sese haberet, non facilius ex ea cognoscere posses, quam ex liberto tuo Phania: ita est homo non modo prudens, verum etiam, quod juvet, curiosus. Quapropter ille tibi omnia explanabit. Id et ad brevitatem est aptius, et ad reliquas res providentius. De mea autem benevolentia

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lencia erga te, etsi potes ex eodem Phania cognoscere, tamen videntur etiam aliquae meae partes. Sic est, tibi persuade, carissimum te mihi esse, cum propter multas suavitates ingenii, officii, humanitatis tuae, tum quod ex tuis literis et ex multorum sermonibus intelligo, omnia, quae a me profecta sunt in te, tibi accidisse gratissima. Quod cum ita sit, perficiam profecto, ut longi temporis usuram, qua caruimus, intermissa nostra consuetudine et gratia, et crebritate et magnitudine officiorum meorum sarciam: idque me, quoniam tu ita vis, puto non invita Minerva esse facturum: quam quidem ego, si forte de tuis sumfero, non solum Pallada, sed etiam Appiada nominabo. Cilix libertus tuus, antea mihi minus fuit notus: sed ut mihi reddidit a te literas plenas et amoris et officii, mirifice ipse suo sermone subsecutus est humanitatem literarum tuarum. Jucunda mihi ejus oratio fuit cum de animo tuo, de sermonibus, quos de me haberes quotidie, mihi narraret. Quid quaeris? Biduo factus est mihi familiaris: ita tamen ut Phaniam valde sim desideraturus: quem cum Romam remittes, quod, ut putabamus, celeriter eras factururus, omnibus ei de rebus, quas agi, quas curari a me voles, mandata des velim. L. Valerium jurisconsultum valde tibi commendo:

do : sed ita etiam, si non est jurisconsultus. Melius enim ei cavere volo, quam ipse aliis solet. Valde hominem diligo. Est ex meis domesticis, atque intimis familiaribus. Omnino tibi agit gratias : sed idem scribit, meas literas maximum apud te pondus habituras. Id eum ne fallat, te etiam atque etiam rogo. Vale.

EPISTOLA II.

M.T.C. PROCONSUL APPIO PUL-
CHRO IMP. S.D.

CUM ¹et contra voluntatem meam, et praeter opinionem accidisset, ut mihi cum imperio in provinciam proficisci necesse esset, in multis et variis molestiis, cogitationibusque meis, haec una consolatio occurrebat, quod neque tibi amior, quam ego sum, quisquam posset succedere. Neque ego ab ullo provinciam accipere, qui mallet eam mihi quam maxime aptam explicatamque tradere. Quod si tu quoque eandem de mea voluntate erga te spem habes, ea te profecto nunquam fallat. A te maximo opere, pro nostra summa conjunctione tuaque singulari humanitate, etiam atque etiam quaeso et peto, ut quibuscunque rebus poteris, poteris autem plurimis, prospicias, et consulas rationibus meis. Vides ² ex senatusconsulto provinciam esse habendam.

dam. Si eam, quoad ejus facere potueris, quam expeditissimam mihi tradideris, facilius erit mihi quasi decursus mei temporis. Quid in eo genere efficere possis, tui consilii est. Ego te, quod tibi veniet in mentem mea interesse, valde rogo. Pluribus verbis ad te scriberem, si aut tua humanitas longiorem orationem expectaret, aut id fieri nostra amicitia pateretur, aut res verba desideraret ac non pro se ipsa loqueretur. Hoc velim tibi persuadeas, si rationibus meis provisum esse intellexero, magnam te ex eo et perpetuam voluptatem esse capturum. Vale.

EPISTOLA III.

M.T.C. APPIO PULCHRO S.D.

AD. XI kalendas Junias Brundisium cum venissem, Q. Fabius, legatus tuus, mihi praesto fuit, eaque me ex tuis mandatis monuit, quae non modo mihi, ad quem pertinebant, sed universo senatui venerant in mentem, praesidio firmiori opus esse ad istam provinciam: censebant enim omnes fere, ut in Italia supplementum meis et Bibuli legionibus scriberetur. Id cum Sulpicius consul passurum se negaret, multa nos quidem questi sumus, sed tantus consensus senatus fuit, ut mature proficisceremur, parendum ut fuerit: itaque fecimus. Nunc, quod a te petii
literis

literis iis, quas Romae tabellariis tuis dedi, velim tibi curae sit, ut quae successori conjunctissimo et amicissimo commodare potest is, qui provinciam tradit, ea pro nostra consociatissima voluntate, cura ac diligentia tua complectare: ut omnes intelligant, nec me benevolentiori cuiquam succedere, nec te amicali potuisse provinciam tradere. Ex iis literis, quarum ad me ³ exemplum misisti, quas in senatu recitari voluisti, sic intellexeram permultos a te milites esse dimissos: sed mihi Fabius idem demonstravit id te cogitasse facere, sed cum ipse a te discederet, integrum militum numerum fuisse. Id si ita est, pergratum mihi feceris, si istas exiguas copias, quas habuisti, quam minime imminueris: qua de re senatusconsulta, quae facta sunt, ad te missa esse arbitror. Equidem pro eo, quanti te facio, quidquid feceris, approbabo. Sed te quoque confido ea facturum, quae mihi intelliges maxime esse accommodata. Ego ⁴ C. Pontinium, legatum meum, Brundisii expectabam: eumque ante kalendas Jun. Brundisium venturum arbitror. Qui cum venerit, quae primum navigandi nobis facultas data erit, utemur. Vale.

EPISTOLA IV.

M.T.C. APPIO PULCHRO S.D.

PRIDIE ¹ nonas Junias, cum essem Brundisii, literas tuas accepi, quibus erat scriptum, te L. Clodio mandasse, quae illum mecum loqui velles. Eum sane exspectabam, ut ea, quae a te afferret, quam primum cognoscerem. Meum studium erga te et officium tametsi multis jam rebus spero tibi esse cognitum, tamen in iis maxime declarabo, quibus plurimum significare potuero, tuam mihi existimationem et dignitatem carissimam esse. Mihi et Q. Fabius Virgilianus et C. Flaccus L. F. et diligentissime M. Octavius Cn. F. demonstravit me a te plurimi fieri: quod egomet multis argumentis jam antea iudicaram, maximeque illo libro ² augurali, quem ad me amantissime scriptum, suavissimum misisti. Mea in te omnia summa necessitudinis officia ³ constabunt. Nam cum te ipse, ex quo tempore tu me diligere coepisti, quotidie pluris feci, tum accesserunt etiam conjunctiones necessariorum tuorum. Duos enim duarum aetatum plurimi facio, Cn. Pompeium, filiae tuae socerum, et M. Brutum, generum tuum: Collegii quoque conjunctio, praesertim tam honorifice a te approbata, non mediocre vinculum mihi quidem attulisse

lisse videtur ad voluntates nostras copulandas. Sed et, si Clodium convenero, ex illius sermone ad te scribam plura: et ipse operam dabo, te ut quam primum videam. Quod scribis, tibi manendi causam eam fuisse, ut me convenires, id mihi, ne mentiar, gratum est. Vale.

EPISTOLA V.

M.T.C. APPIO PULCHRO S.D.

TRALLES¹ veni a. d. vi kalendas Sextiles. Ibi mihi praeesto fuit L. Lucilius cum literis mandatisque tuis; quo quidem hominem neminem potuisti nec mihi amiciorem, nec, ut arbitrator, ad ea cognoscenda, quae scire volebam, aptiorem prudentioremve mittere. Ego autem et tuas literas legi libenter, et audiavi Lucilium diligenter. Nunc quoniam et tu ita sentis, (scribis enim, quae de nostris officiis ego ad te scripserim, etsi tibi jucunda fuerint, tamen, quoniam ex alto repetita sint, non necessaria te putasse,) et re vera, confirmata amicitia et perspecta fide, commemoratio officiorum supervacanea est; eam partem orationis praetermittam: tibi tamen agam, ut debeo, gratias.² Animadverti³ enim et didici ex tuis literis te omnibus in rebus habuisse rationem ut mihi consuleres, restituereque et praeparares quodammodo omnia, quo mea ratio
E facilior

facilior et solutior esse posset. Hoc tuum officium cum mihi gratissimum esse dicam, sequitur illud, ut te existimare velim mihi magnae curae fore, atque esse jam, primum ut ipse tu, tuique omnes, deinde ut etiam reliqui scire possint, me tibi esse amicissimum. Quod quibus adhuc non satis est perspectum, ii mihi nolle magis, nos hoc animo esse, quam non intelligere videntur. Sed profecto intelligent: neque enim obscuris personis nec parvis in causis res agetur. Sed haec fieri melius, quam dici, aut scribi volo. Quod itinerum meorum ratio te nonnullam in dubitationem videtur adducere, visurusne me sis in provincia: ea res sic se habet. Brundisii cum loquerer cum Phania, liberto tuo, veni in eum sermonem, ut dicerem, me libenter ad eam partem provinciae primum esse venturum, quo te maxime velle arbitrarer. Tunc mihi ille dixit, quod classe tu velles decedere per fore accommodatum tibi, si ad illam maritimam partem provinciae navibus accessissem. Dixi me esse facturum: itaque fecissem, nisi mihi L. Clodius noster Corcyrae dixisset minime id esse faciendum; te Laodiceae fore ad meum adventum. Erat id mihi multo brevius multoque commodius, cum praesertim te ita malle arbitrarer. Tua ratio postea est commutata. Nunc quid fieri possit tu facilissime

lime statues. Ego tibi meum consilium exponam. Prope kal. Sextil. puto me Laodiceae fore: perpaucos dies, dum pecunia accipitur, quae mihi ex publica permutatione debetur, commorabor. Deinde iter faciam ad exercitum, ut circiter idus Sextil. putem me ad Iconium fore. Sed si quid nunc me fallit in scribendo, procul enim aberam ab re ipsa et a locis, simul ac progredi coepero, quam celerrime potero et quam creberrimis literis faciam, ut tibi nota sit omnis ratio dierum atque itinerum meorum. Oneris tibi imponere nec audeo quidquam nec debeo. Sed, quod tuo commodo fieri possit, utriusque nostrum magni interest, ut te videam antequam decedas. Quam facultatem si quis casus eripuerit, mea tamen in te omnia officia constabunt, non secus ac si te vidissem. Tibi de nostris rebus nihil sum ante mandaturus per literas, quam desperare coram me tecum agere posse. Quod te a Scaevola petiisse dicis, ut, dum tu abesses, ante adventum meum provinciae praeesset, cum ego Ephesi vidi, fuitque mecum familiariter triduum illud, quod ego Ephesi commoratus sum, nec ex eo quidquam audiui, quod sibi a te mandatum diceret. Sane vellem potuisset obsequi voluntati tuae: non enim arbitror noluisse. Vale.

EPISTOLA VI.

M.T.C. APPIO PULCHRO S.D.

CUM ¹ meum factum cum tuo comparo, etsi non magis mihi faveo in nostra amicitia tuenda, quam tibi, tamen multo magis meo facto delector, quam tuo. Ego enim Brundisii quaesivi ex Phania, cujus mihi videbar et fidelitatem erga te perspexisse, et nosse locum, quem apud te is teneret, quam in partem provinciae maxime putaret te velle, ut in succedendo primum venirem. Cum ille mihi respondisset, nihil me tibi gratius facere posse, quam si ad Sidam navigassem: etsi minus dignitatis habebat ille adventus, et ad multas res mihi minus erat aptus, tamen ita me dixi facturum. Idem ego cum L. Clodium Corcyrae convenissem, hominem ita tibi conjunctum, ut mihi, cum illo cum loquerer, tecum loqui viderer, dixi ei me ita facturum esse, ut in eam partem, quam Phania rogasset, primum venirem. Tunc ille mihi cum gratias egisset, magnopere a me petivit, ut Laodiceam protinus irem: te in prima ² provincia velle esse, ut quam primum decederes: quin, nisi ego successor essem, quem tu cuperes videre, te antea, quam tibi successum esset, decessurum fuisse: quod quidem erat consentaneum cum iis
literis,

literis, quas ego Romae acceperam, ex quibus perspexisse mihi videbar, quam festinares decedere. Respondi Clodio me ita esse facturum, ac multo quidem libentius, quam si illud esset faciendum, quod promiseram Phaniae. Itaque et consilium mutavi, et ad te statim mea manuscriptas literas misi; quas quidem ex tuis literis intellexi satis mature ad te esse perlatas. Hoc ego meo facto valde delector: nihil enim potuit fieri amantius. Considera nunc vicissim tuum. Non modo ibi non fuisti, ubi me quam primum videre posses, sed eo discessisti, quo ego te ne persequi quidem possem ³ triginta diebus, qui tibi ad decedendum lege, ut opinor, Cornelia constituti essent: ut tuum factum illis, qui, quo animo inter nos simus, ignorant, alieni hominis, ut levissime dicam, et fugientis congressum; meum vero conjunctissimi et amicissimi, esse videatur. Ac mihi tamen ante, quam in provinciam venirem, redditae sunt a te literae, quibus, etsi te Tarsum proficisci demonstrabas, tamen mihi non dubiam spem mei conveniendi afferebas: cum interea, credo equidem, malevoli homines, late enim patet hoc vitium, et est in multis, sed tamen probabilem materiam nacti sermonis, ignari meae constantiae, conabantur alienare a te voluntatem meam: qui te forum Tarfi agere,

V

statuere multa, decernere, judicare dicerent, cum posses jam suspicari tibi esse successum: quae ne ab iis quidem fieri solerent, qui brevi tempore sibi succedi putarent. Horum ego sermone non movebar. Quin etiam, credas mihi velim, si quid tu ageres, levare me putabam molestia; et ex annua provincia, quae mihi longa videretur, prope jam undecim mensium provinciam factam esse gaudebam, si absenti mihi unius mensis labor detractus esset. Illud, vere dicam, me movet, in tanta militum paucitate abesse tres cohortes, quae sint plenissimae, nec me scire ubi sint. Molestissime autem fero, quod, te ubi visurus sim, nescio: eoque ad te tardius scripsi, quod quotidie te ipsum expectabam: cum interea ne literas quidem ullas accepi, quae me docerent, quid ageres, aut ubi te visurus essem. Itaque virum fortem mihi in primis probatum, Antonium, praefectum⁴ evocatorum, misi ad te; cui, si tibi videretur, cohortes traderes: ut, dum tempus anni esset idoneum, aliquid negotii gerere possem. In quo, tuo consilio ut me sperarem esse usurum, et amicitia nostra et literae tuae fecerant; quod ne nunc quidem despero. Sed plane quando aut ubi te visurus sim, nisi ad me scripseris, ne suspicari quidem possum. Ego, ut me tibi amicissimum esse et aequi et iniqui intelligant, curabo.

rabō. De tuo in me animo iniquis secus existimandi videris nonnihil loci dedisse. Id si correxeris, mihi valde gratum erit. Et, ut habere rationem possis, quo loco me, salva lege Cornelia, convenias, ego in provinciam veni pridie kal. Sext. Iter in Ciliciam facio per Cappadociam, Castra movi ab Iconio pridie kalendas Septembris. Nunc tu et ex diebus et ex ratione itineris, si putabis me esse conveniendum, constitues, quo loco id commodissime fieri possit, et quo die, Vale,

EPISTOLA VII.

M.T.C. PROCONS. S.D. APPIO
PULCHRO.

ETSI, ¹ quantum ex tuis literis intelligere potui, videbam te hanc epistolam, cum ² ad urbem esses, esse lecturum, refrigerato jam levissimo sermone hominum provincialium : tamen, cum tu tam multis verbis ad me de improborum oratione scripisses, faciendum mihi putavi, ut tuis literis brevi responderem. Sed prima duo capita epistolae tuae tacita mihi quodammodo relinquenda sunt. Nihil enim habent, quod aut definitum sit, aut certum, nisi me vultu et taciturnitate significasse, tibi non esse amicum : idque pro tribunali, cum aliquid ageretur,

et nonnullis in conviviis intelligi potuisse. Hoc totum nihil esse, possum intelligere: sed cum sit nihil, ne quid dicatur quidem intelligo. Illud quidem scio, meos multos et illustres et ex superiore et ex aequo loco sermones habitos cum tua summa laude, et cum magna ³significatione nostrae familiaritatis, ad te vere potuisse deferri. Nam, quod ad ⁴legatos attinet, quid a me fieri potuit aut elegantius aut iustius, quam ut sumtus egentissimarum civitatum minuerem, sine ulla imminutione dignitatis tuae, praesertim ipsis civitatibus postulantis? Nam mihi totum genus legationum tuo nomine proficiscentium notum non erat. Apameae cum essem, multarum civitatum principes ad me detulerunt, sumtus decerni legatis nimis magnos, cum solvendo civitates non essent. Hic ego multa simul cogitavi. Primum, te hominem non solum sapientem, verum etiam, ut nunc loquimur, urbanum ⁵non arbitrabar genere isto legationum delectari, idque me arbitror Synnadis pro tribunali multis verbis disputavisse: primum, Appium Claudium senatui populoque Romano, non Myndensium testimonio, in ea enim civitate mentio facta est, sed sua sponte esse laudatum: deinde, me ista vidisse multis accidere, ut eorum causa legationes Romam venirent, sed his legationibus non meminisse

minisse ullum tempus laudandi aut locum dari: studia mihi eorum placere, quod in te bene merito grati essent; consilium totum videri minime necessarium. Si autem vellent declarare in eo officium suum, laudaturum me, si qui suo sumtu functus esset officio; concessurum, si legitimo; non permissurum, si infinito. Quid enim reprehendi potest, nisi quod addis visum esse quibusdam edictum meum quasi consulto ad istas legationes impediendas esse accommodatum? Jam non tam mihi videntur injuriam facere hi⁶ qui haec disputant, quam si, cujus aures ad hanc disputationem patent. Romae composui edictum: nihil addidi, nisi quod publicani me rogarunt, cum Samum ad me venissent, ut de tuo edicto totidem verbis transferrem in meum. Diligentissime scriptum caput est, quod pertinet ad minuendos sumptus civitatum: quo in capite sunt quaedam nova, salutaria civitatibus, quibus ego magnopere delector. Hoc vero, ex quo suspicio nata est me exquisisse aliquid, in quo te offenderem, translatitium⁷ est. Neque enim eram tam desipiens, ut privatae rei causa legari putarem, qui et tibi non privato, et pro re non privata sua, sed publica, non in privato, sed in publico orbis terrae consilio, id est, in senatu, ut gratias agerent, mittebantur: neque cum edixi, ne quis injussu
meo

meo proficisceretur, exclusi eos, qui me in castra et qui trans Taurum persequi non possent: nam id est maxime in tuis literis irridendum. Quid enim erat, quod me persequerentur in castra Taurumve transirent, cum ego Laodicea usque ad Iconium iter ita fecerim, ut me omnium illarum dioecesium, quae cis Taurum sunt, omniumque earum civitatum magistratus legationesque convenirent? nisi forte postea coeperunt legare, quam ego Taurum transgressus sum; quod certe non ita est. Cum enim Laodiceae, cum Apameae, cum Synnadis, cum Philomeli, cum Iconii essem, quibus in oppidis omnibus commoratus sum, omnes jam istius generis legationes erant constitutae. Atque hoc tamen te scire volo, me de isto sumtu legationum aut minuendo aut remittendo decrevisse nihil, nisi quod principes civitatum a me postulassent: ne in venditionem tributorum et illam acerbissimam exactionem, quam tu non ignoras, capitum atque ostiorum inducerentur sumtus minime necessarii. Ego autem cum hoc suscepissem, non solum justitia sed etiam misericordia adductus, ut levarem miseriis perditas civitates, et perditas maxime per magistratus suos, non potui in illo sumtu non necessario negligens esse. Tu, cum istiusmodi sermones ad te delati de me sunt, non debuisti credere. Si autem hoc
genere

genere delectaris, ut quae tibi in mentem veniant, aliis attribuas, genus sermonis inducis in amicitiam minime liberale. Ego si in provincia detrudere de tua fama unquam cogitarem, non ad generum tuum Lentulum, neque ad libertum tuum Brundisii, neque ad praefectum fabrum Corcyrae, quem in locum me venire velles, retulissem. Quare potes, doctissimis hominibus auctoribus, quorum sunt de amicitia gerenda praeclarissime scripti libri, genus hoc totum orationis tollere; disputabant, ego contra diserebam: dicebant, ego negabam. An mihi de te nihil esse dictum unquam putas? ne hoc quidem, quod cum me Laodiceam venire voluisses, Taurum ipse transisti? quod iisdem diebus meus conventus erat Apameae, Synnadis, Philomeli, tuus Tarfi? non dicam plura, ne in quo te objurgem, id ipsum videar imitari. Illud dicam ut sentio: si ista, quae alios loqui dicis, ipse sentis, tua summa culpa est; sin autem alii tecum haec loquuntur, tua tamen, quod audis, culpa nonnulla est. Mea ratio in tota amicitia nostra constans et gravis reperietur. Quod si quis me astutior fin- git, quid potest esse callidius, quam cum te absentem semper defenderim, cum praesertim mihi usu venturum non arbitrarer, ut ego quoque absens a te defendendus essem, nunc committere,

tere, ut tu jure optimo me absentem deferere posses? Unum genus excipio sermonis, in quo per saepe aliquid dicitur, quod te putem nolle dici; si aut legatorum tuorum cuipiam aut praefectorum aut tribunorum militum male dicitur: quod tamen ipsum non mehercule adhuc accidit, me audiente, ut aut gravius diceretur, aut in plures, quam mecum Corcyrae Clodius est locutus: cum in eo genere maxime quereretur, te aliorum improbitate minus felicem fuisse. Hos ego sermones, quod et multi sunt, et tuam existimationem, ut ego sentio, non offendunt, lacessivi nunquam, sed non valde repressi. Si quis est, qui neminem bona fide in gratiam putet redire posse, non nostram is perfidiam coarguit, sed indicat suam, simulque non de me is pejus, quam de te existimat. Sin autem quem mea instituta in provincia non delectant, et quadam dissimilitudine institutorum meorum ac tuorum laedi se putat, cum uterque nostrum recte fecerit; sed non idem uterque secutus sit, hunc ego amicum habere non curo. Liberalitas tua, ut hominis nobilissimi, latius in provincia patuit: nostra si angustior, et si de tua prolixa beneficaque natura limavit aliquid posterior annus, propter quandam tristitiam temporum; non debent mirari homines, cum et natura semper ad largiendum ex alieno fuerim restrictior,

strictior, et temporibus, quibus alii moventur, iisdem ego movear, me esse acerbum sibi, ut sim dulcis mihi. De rebus urbanis quod me certior fecisti, cum per se mihi gratum fuit, tum quod significasti, tibi omnia mea mandata curae fore. In quibus unum illud te praecipue rogo, ut cures, ne quid mihi ad hoc negotii aut oneris accedat aut temporis: Hortensiumque nostrum collegam et familiarem roges, ut si unquam mea causa quidquam aut sensit aut fecit, de hac quoque sententia bima⁹ decedat: qua mihi nihil potest esse inimicius. De nostris rebus quod scire vis, Tarso nonis Octobr. Amanum versus profecti sumus. Haec scripsi postridie ejus diei, cum castra haberem in agro Mopsuhestiae. Si quid egero, scribam ad te; neque domum unquam ad me literas mittam, quin adjungam eas, quas tibi reddi velim. De Parthis quod quaeris, fuisse nullos puto. Arabes qui fuerunt, admisso Parthico ornatu, dicuntur omnes revertisse. Hostem esse in Syria negant ullum. Tu velim ad me quam saepissime et de tuis rebus scribas et de meis, et de omni reipublicae statu: de quo sum sollicitus eo magis, quod ex tuis literis cognovi, Pompeium nostrum in Hispaniam iturum. Vale.

EPISTOLA VIII.

M.T.C. IMP. S.D. APPIO PULCHRO.

PLRIBUS ¹ verbis ad te scribam, cum plus otii nactus ero. Haec scripsi subito, cum Bruti pueri Laodiceae me convenissent, et se Romam properare dixissent: itaque nullas iis, praeterquam ad te et ad Brutum, dedi literas. Legati ² Appiani mihi volumen a te, plenum querelae iniquissimae, reddiderunt, quod eorum aedificationem ³ literis meis impedissem. Eadem autem epistola petebas, ut eos quam primum, ne in hiemem inciderent, ad facultatem aedificandi liberarem: et simul peracute querebare, quod eos tributa exigere vetarem prius, quam ego re cognita permissem. Genus enim quoddam fuisse impediendi, cum ego cognoscere non possem, nisi cum ad hiemem me ex Cilicia recepissem. Ad omnia accipe et cognosce aequitatem expostulationis tuae. Primum, cum ad me aditum esset ab iis, qui dicerent a se intolerabilia tributa exigi; quid habuit iniquitatis, me scribere, ne facerent ante, quam ego rem causamque cognossem? non poteram, credo, ante hiemem. Sic enim scribis. Quasi vero ad cognoscendum ego ad illos, non illi ad me venire debuerint. Tam longe? inquis. Quid? cum dabas iis literas, per
quas

quas mecum agebas, ne eos impedirem, quo minus ante hiemem aedificarent, non eos ad me venturos arbitrabare? Tametsi id quidem fecerunt ridicule: quas enim literas afferebant, ut opus aestate facere possent, eas mihi post brumam reddiderunt. Sed scito, et multo plures esse, qui de tributis recusent, quam qui exigi velint, et me tamen, quod te velle existimem, esse facturum. De Appianis haecenus. A Pausania, Lentuli liberti, accenso meo audiui, cum diceret, te secum esse questum, quod tibi obviam non prodisssem. Scilicet contempsi te, nec potest fieri me quidquam superbius. Cum puer tuus ad me secunda fere vigilia venisset, isque te ante lucem Iconium mihi venturum nuntiaffet, incertumque utra via, cum essent duae: altera Varronem, tuum familiarissimum, altera Q. Leptam, praefectum fabrum meum, tibi obviam misi. Mandavi utrique eorum, ut ante ad me excurrerent, ut tibi obviam prodire posssem. Currens Lepta venit, mihi nuntiavit, te jam castra praetergressum esse. Confestim Iconium veni. Caetera jam tibi nota sunt. An ego tibi obviam non prodirem? primum Appio Claudio? deinde, imperatori? deinde, more majorum? deinde, quod caput est, amico? praesertim cum in isto genere multo etiam ambitiosius facere soleam, quam honos meus

meus et dignitas postulat. Sed haec haecenus. Illud idem Pausania dicebat, te dixisse: quidni? Appius Lentulo, Lentulus Appio processit obviam: Cicero Appio noluit? quaeſo, etiamne tu has ineptias, homo, mea ſententia, ſumma prudentia, multa etiam doctrina, plurimo rerum uſu, addo urbanitate, quae eſt virtus, ut Stoici rectiſſime putant, ullam Appietatem, aut Lentulitatem valere apud me plus, quam ornamenta virtutis, exiſtimas? cum ea conſecutus nondum eram, quae ſunt hominum opinionibus ampliſſima, tamen iſta veſtra nomina nunquam ſum admiratus: viros eſſe, qui ea vobis reliquiſſent, magnos arbitrabar. Poſtea vero quam ita et cepi et geſſi maxima imperia, ut mihi nihil neque ad honorem neque ad gloriam acquirendum putarem; ſuperiorem quidem nunquam, ſed parem vobis me ſperavi eſſe factum. Nec, mehercule, aliter vidi exiſtimare vel Cn. Pompeium, quem omnibus qui unquam fuerunt, vel P. Lentulum, quem mihi ipſe antepono. Tu, ſi aliter exiſtimas, nihil errabis, ſi paullo diligentius, ut quid ſit *εὐγένεια*, quid ſit nobilitas intelligas, ⁴Athenodorus Sandonis filius quid de his rebus dicat, attenderis. Sed, ut ad rem redeam, me tibi non amicum modo, verum etiam amiciffimum exiſtimes velim. Profecto omnibus meis officiis efficiam

ficiam, ut ita vere possis judicare. Tu autem si id agis, ut minus mea causa, dum ego absim, debere videaris, quam ego tua laborarim : libero te ista ^s cura.

————— παρ' ἐμοὶ γε καὶ ἄλλοι,
Οἱ κέ με τιμῆσουσι, μάλιστα δὲ μηϊέ[ε]α Ζεὺς.

Si autem natura es φιλαίτιος, illud non perficies, quo minus tua causa velim : hoc assequere, ut, quam in partem tu accipias, minus laborem. Haec ad te scripsi liberius, fretus conscientia officii mei benevolentiaeque : quam a me certo iudicio susceptam, quoad tu voles, conservabo.

EPISTOLA IX.

M.T.C. APPIO PULCHRO S.D.

VIX tandem legi literas dignas Appio Claudio, plenas humanitatis, officii, diligentiae. Adspectus videlicet urbis tibi tuam pristinam urbanitatem reddidit. Nam quas ex itinere ante, quam ex Asia egressus es, ad me literas misisti, unas de legatis à me prohibitis proficisci, alteras de Appianorum aedificatione impedita, legi perinventus. Itaque conscientia meae constantis erga te voluntatis, rescripsi tibi subiratus. Iis vero literis lectis, quas Philotimo, liberto meo, dedisti, cognovi intellexique, in provincia mul-

tos fuisse, qui nos, quo animo inter nos sumus, esse nollent : ad urbem vero ut accesseris, vel potius ut primum tuos videris, cognosse te ex iis, qua in te absentem fide, qua in omnibus officiis tuendis erga te observantia et constantia fuisset. Itaque quanti illud me aestimare putas, quod est in tuis literis scriptum, si quid inciderit quod ad meam dignitatem pertineat, etsi vix fieri possit, tamen te parem mihi gratiam relaturum ? tu vero facile facies : nihil est enim, quod studio et benevolentia vel amore potius, effici non possit. Ego etsi et ipse ita judicabam, et fiebam crebro à meis per literas certior, tamen maximam laetitiam cepi ex tuis literis de spe minime dubia et plane explorata triumphi tui : neque vero ob eam causam, quo ipse facilius consequeretur, nam id quidem *Ἐπικύριον* est, sed, mehercule, quod tua dignitas atque amplitudo mihi est ipsa cara per se. Quare quoniam plures tu habes quam caeteri, quos scias in hanc provinciam proficisci, quod te adeunt fere omnes si quid ² velis, gratissimum mihi feceris, si ad me, simul atque adeptus eris, quod et tu confidis et ego opto, literas miseris. Longi ³ subsellii, ut noster Pompeius appellat, judicatio et mora, si quem tibi item unum alterumve diem abstulerit, quid enim potest amplius ? tua tamen dignitas suum locum obtinebit.

obtinebit. Sed, si me diligis, si a me diligi vis, ad me literas, ut quam primum laetitia afficiar, mittito. Et velim reliquum quod est promissi ac muneris tui mihi persolvas. Cum ipsam cognitionem juris augurii consequi cupio, tum me hercule tuis incredibiliter studiis erga me muneribusque delector. Quod autem a me tale quiddam desideras, sane mihi considerandum est, quonam te remunerer potissimum genere: nam profecto non est meum, qui in scribendo, ut soles admirari, tantum industriae ponam, committere, ut negligens scribendo fuisse videar: praefertim cum id non modo negligentis, sed etiam ingrati animi crimen futurum sit. Verum haec videbimus. Illud, quod polliceris, velim pro tua fide diligentiaque et pro nostra non instituta sed jam inveterata amicitia cures, enitare, ut supplicatio nobis quam honorificentissime, quamprimumque decernatur. Omnino serius misi literas quam vellem: in quo cum navigandi difficultas fuit odiosa, tum in ipsum discessum senatus incidisse credo literas meas. Sed id feci adductus auctoritate et consilio tuo: idque a me recte factum puto, quod non statim ut appellatus imperator sim, sed, aliis rebus additis aestivalisque confectis, literas miserim. Haec igitur tibi erunt curae, quemadmodum ostendis: meque totum et mea et meos commendatos habebis. Vale.

EPISTOLA X.

M.T.C. APPIO PULCHRO S.D.

CUM est ¹ad nos allatum de temeritate eorum, qui tibi negotium facefferent; etsi graviter primo nuntio commotus sum, quod nihil tam praeter opinionem meam accidere potuit: tamen ut me collegi, caetera mihi facillima videbantur, quod et in te ipso maximam spem et in tuis magnam habebam: multaue mihi veniebant in mentem, quamobrem istum laborem tibi etiam honori putarem fore. Illud plane moleste tuli, quod certissimum et justissimum ² triumphum hoc invidorum consilio esse tibi ereptum videbam. Quod tu si tanti facies, quanti ego semper judicavi faciendum esse; facies sapienter, et ages victor ex inimicorum dolore triumphum justissimum. Ego enim plane video fore nervis, opibus, sapientia tua, vehementer ut inimicos tuos poeniteat intemperantiae suae. De me tibi sic, contestans omnes deos, promitto atque confirmo, me pro tua dignitate, malo enim dicere, quam pro salute, in hac provincia, cui tu praefuisti, rogando deprecatoris, laborando propinqui, auctoritate cari hominis, ut spero, apud civitates, gravitate imperatoris suscepturum officia atque partes. Omnia volo a me et postules

et

et exspectes; vincam meis officiis cogitationes tuas. Q. Servilius perbreves mihi a te literas reddidit, quae mihi tamen nimis longae visae sunt. Injuriam enim mihi fieri putabam, cum rogar. Nollem accidisset tempus, in quo perspicere posses quanti ego te, quanti ³ Pompeium, quem unum ex omnibus facio, ut debeo, plurimi, quanti Brutum facerem: quanquam in consuetudine quotidiana perspexisses, sicut perspicies: sed quoniam accidit, si quid a me praetermissum erit, commissum facinus et admissum dedecus confitebor. Pontinius, qui a te tractatus est praestanti ac singulari fide, cujus tui beneficii sum ego testis, praestat tibi memoriam benevolentiamque, quam debet: qui cum maximis rebus suis coactus a me invitissimo decessisset, tamen ut vidit interesse tua, conscendens jam navem, Epheso Laodiceam revertit. Talia te cum studia videam habiturum esse innumerabilia, plane dubitare non possum, quin tibi amplitudo ista sollicitudo futura sit. Si vero efficis, ut censores creentur, et si ita gesseris censuram, ut et debes et potes, non tibi solum, sed tuis omnibus video in perpetuum summo te praesidio futurum. Illud pugna et enitere, ne quid nobis temporis prorogetur; ut cum hic tibi satisfecerimus, istic quoque nostram in te benevolentiam navare possimus.

mus. Quae de hominum atque ordinum omnium erga te studiis scribis ad me, minime mihi miranda et maxime jucunda acciderunt: eademque ad me perscripta sunt a familiaribus meis. Itaque capio magnam voluptatem, cum tibi, cujus mihi amicitia non solum ampla, sed etiam jucunda est, ea tribui quae debeantur: tum vero remanere etiam nunc in civitate nostra studia prope omnium consensu erga fortes et ⁴ industrios viros, quae mihi ipsi una semper tributa merces est laborum et vigiliarum mearum. Illud vero mihi permirum accidit, tantam temeritatem fuisse in eo adolescente, cujus ego salutem duobus capitis judiciis summa contentione defendi, ut tuis inimiciis suscipiendis oblivisceretur patroni omnium fortunarum ac rationum suarum: praesertim cum tu omnibus vel ornamentis vel praesidiis redundares; illi, ut levissime dicam, multa deessent. Cujus sermo stultus et puerilis erat jam antea ad me a M.⁵ Coelio, familiari nostro perscriptus: de quo item sermone multa scripta sunt abs te. Ego autem citius cum eo, qui tuas inimicitias suscepisset, veterem conjunctionem diremissem, quam novam conciliaissem. Neque enim de meo erga te studio dubitare debes, neque id est obscurum cuiquam in provincia, nec Romae fuit. Sed tamen
significatur

significatur in tuis literis suspicio quaedam et dubitatio tua, de qua alienum tempus est mihi tecum exoptulandi, purgandi autem mei necessarium. Ubi enim ego cuiquam legationi fui impedimento, quo minus Romam ad laudem tuam mitteretur? aut in quo potui, si te palam odissem, minus, quod tibi obesset, facere? si clam, magis aperte inimicus esse? quod si essem ea perfidia, qua sunt ii, qui in nos haec conferunt; tamen ea stultitia certe non fuisset, ut aut in obscuro odio apertas inimicitias, aut in quo tibi nihil nocerem, summam ostenderem voluntatem nocendi. Ad me adire quosdam memini, nimirum⁶ ex Epicteto, qui dicerent, nimis magnos sumtus legatis decerni: quibus ego non tam imperavi, quam censui, sumtus legatis quam maxime ad⁷ legem Corneliam decernendos. Atque in eo ipso me non perseverasse, testes sunt rationes civitatum, in quibus, quantum quaeque voluit, legatis tuis datum induxit. Te autem quibus mendaciis homines levissimi onerarunt? non modo sublato sumtus, sed etiam a procuratoribus eorum, qui jam profecti essent, repetitos et ablato, eamque causam multis omnino non eundi fuisse. Quererer tecum atque exoptularem, si, ut supra scripsi, purgare me tibi hoc tuo tempore, quam accusare te mallet; idque putarem

esse rectius. Itaque nihil de te, quod credideris de me: quamobrem non debueris credere, pauca dicam. Nam si me virum bonum, si dignum his studiis, eaque doctrina, cui me a pueritia dedi, si satis magni animi, non minimi consilii in maximis rebus perspectum habes; nihil in me non modo perfidiosum et insidiosum, et fallax in amicitia, sed ne humile quidem aut jejenum debes agnoscere. Sin autem me astutum et occultum iuvat fingere, quid est quod, minus cadere in ejusmodi naturam possit, quam aut florentissimi hominis aspernari benevolentiam, aut ejus existimationem oppugnare in provincia, cujus laudem domi defenderis? aut in ea re animum ostendere inimicum, in qua nihil obsis? aut id eligere ad perfidiam, quod ad indicandum odium apertissimum sit, ad nocendum levissimum? quid erat autem, cur ego in te tam implacabilis essem, cum te ex fratre meo ne tunc quidem, cum tibi prope necesse esset eas agere partes, inimicum mihi fuisse cognossem? cum vero reditum nostrum in gratiam uterque expetisset, quid in consulatu tuo frustra mecum egisti, quod me aut facere, aut sentire voluisses? quid mihi mandasti, cum te Puteolis prosequerer, in quo non expectationem tuam diligentia mea vicerim? quod si id est maxime astuti, omnia ad
suam

suam utilitatem referre, quid mihi tandem erat utilius, quid commodis meis aptius, quam hominis nobilissimi atque honoratissimi conjunctio, cujus opes, ingenium, liberi, affines, propinqui, mihi magno vel ornamento vel praesidio esse possent? quae tamen ego omnia in expetenda amicitia tua, non astutia quadam, sed aliqua potius sapientia, secutus sum. Quid? illa vincula, quibus quidem libentissime adstringor, quanta sunt studiorum similitudo, suavitas consuetudinis, delectatio vitae atque victus, sermonis societas, literae⁸ interiores? atque haec domestica. Quid illa tandem popularia? reditus illustris in gratiam? in quo ne per imprudentiam quidem errari potest sine suspitione perfidiae: amplissimi sacerdotii collegium? in quo non modo amicitiam violari apud majores nostros fas non erat, sed ne cooptari quidem sacerdotem licebat, qui cuiquam ex collegio esset inimicus. Quae ut omittam tam multa, atque tanta, quis unquam tanti quemquam fecit, aut facere potuit, aut debuit, quanti ego Cn. Pompeium, socerum tuae filiae? etenim si merita valent: patriam, liberos, salutem, dignitatem, memetipsum mihi per illum restitutum puto. Si consuetudinis jucunditas: quae fuit unquam amicitia consularium in nostra civitate conjunctior? si illa amoris atque

que officii signa : quid mihi ille non commisit ? quid non mecum communicavit ? quid de se in senatu, cum ipse abesset, per quemquam agi maluit ? quibus ille me rebus non ornatissimum voluit amplissime ? qua denique ille facilitate, qua humanitate tulit contentionem meam pro Milone, adversante interdum actionibus suis ? quo studio providit, ne quae me illius temporis invidia attingeret, cum me consilio, cum auctoritate cum armis denique texit suis ? quibus quidem temporibus haec in eo gravitas, haec animi altitudo fuit, non modo ut Phrygi alicui, aut Lycaoni, quod tu in legatis fecisti, sed ne summorum quidem hominum malevolis de me sermonibus crederet. Hujus igitur filius cum sit gener tuus, cumque, praeter hanc conjunctionem affinitatis, quam sis Cn. Pompeio carus, quamque jucundus intelligam, quo tandem animo in te esse debeo ? cum praesertim eas ad me is literas miserit, quibus etiamsi tibi, cui sum amicissimus, hostis essem, placarer tamen ; totumque me ad ejus viri ita de me meriti voluntatem nutumque converterem. Sed haec hactenus : pluribus enim etiam fortasse verbis quam necesse fuit scripta sunt. Nunc ea quae a me profecta, quaeque instituta sunt, ⁹ cognosce.

* * *

Atque haec agimus, et agemus magis pro dignitate, quam pro periculo tuo. Te enim, ut spero, propediem censorem audiemus: cujus magistratus officia, quae sunt maximi animi summique consilii, tibi diligentius et accuratius, quam haec, quae nos de te agimus, cogitanda esse censeo. Vale.

EPISTOLA XI.

M.T.C. APPIO PULCHRO, ut spero,
CENSORI S.D.

CUM¹ essem in castris ad fluvium Pyramum, redditae mihi sunt uno tempore a te epistolae duae, quas ad me Q. Servilius Tarso miserat. Earum in altera dies erat adscripta nonarum Aprilium; in altera, quae mihi recentior videbatur, dies non erat. Respondebo igitur superiori prius, in qua scribis ad me de absolutione² majestatis. De qua, etsi permultum ante certior factus eram literis, nuntiis, fama denique ipsa, nihil enim fuit clarius; non quo quisquam aliter putasset; sed nihil de insignibus ad laudem viris obscure nuntiari solet, tamen eadem illa laetiora fecerunt mihi tuae literae: non solum quia planius loquebantur et uberius, quam
vulgi

vulgi sermo; sed etiam quia magis videbar tibi gratulari, cum de te ex teipso audiebam. Complexus igitur sum cogitatione te absentem, epistolam vero osculatus, etiam ipse mihi gratulatus sum. Quae enim a cuncto populo, a senatu, a iudicibus, ingenio, industriae, virtuti tribuuntur; quia mihi ipse assentor fortasse, cum ea esse in me fingo; mihi quoque ipsi tribui puto. Nec tam gloriosum exitum tui iudicii extitisse, sed tam pravam inimicorum tuorum mentem fuisse mirabar. De ambitu vero quid interest, inquires, an de maiestate? ad rem nihil. Alterum enim non attigisti, alteram auxisti. Veruntamen est ³ maiestas, et sic Sylla voluit, ne in quemvis impune declamare liceret. Ambitus vero ita apertam vim habet, ut aut accusetur improbe, aut defendatur. Quis enim facta aut non facta largitio ignorari potest? tuorum autem honorum cursus cui suspectus unquam fuit? me miserum, qui non affuerim! quos ego risus excitassem? sed de maiestatis iudicio duo mihi illa ex tuis literis iucundissima fuerunt: unum, quod te ab ipsa republica defensum scribis, quae quidem, etiam in summa bonorum et fortium civium copia, tueri tales viros deberet; nunc vero eo magis, quod tanta penuria est in omni vel honoris vel aetatis gradu, ut tam orba

ba

ba civitas tales tutores complecti debeat: alterum, quod Pompeii et Bruti fidem benevolentiamque mirifice laudas. Laetor virtute et officio cum tuorum necessariorum, meorum amicissimorum, tum alterius, omnium seculorum et gentium principis; alterius, jampridem juventutis, celeriter, ut spero, civitatis. De mercenariis testibus a suis civitatibus notandis, nisi jam factum aliquid est per Flaccum, fiet a me cum per Asiam decedam. Nunc ad alteram epistolam venio. Quod ad me quasi formam communium temporum et totius reipublicae misisti expressam, prudentia literarum tuarum valde mihi est grata. Video enim et pericula leviora, quam timebam, et majora praesidia, si quidem, ut scribis, omnes vires civitatis se ad Pompeii ductum applicaverunt: tuumque simul promptum animum et alacrem perspexi ad defendendam rempublicam, mirificamque cepi voluptatem ex hac tua diligentia, quod in summis tuis occupationibus, mihi tamen reipublicae statum per te notum esse voluisti. Nam augurales libros ad commune utriusque nostrum otium serva. Ego enim a te cum tua promissa per literas flagitabam, ad urbem te otiosissimum esse arbitrabar. Nunc tamen, ut ipse polliceris, pro auguralibus libris, orationes tuas confectas omnes

nes exspectabo. Tullius, cui mandata ad me dedisti, non convenerat me: nec erat jam quisquam mecum tuorum, praeter omnes meos, qui sunt omnes tui. Stomachosiores meas literas quas dicas esse, non intelligo. Bis ad te scripsi, me purgans diligenter, te leviter accusans in eo quod de me cito credidisses: quod genus querelae mihi quidem videbatur esse amici. Sin tibi displicet, non utar eo posthac. Sed si, ut scribis, eae literae non fuerunt disertae, scito meas non fuisse. Ut enim ⁴ Aristarchus Homeri versum negat, quem non probat: sic tu, libet enim mihi jocari, quod disertum non erit, ne putaris meum. Vale, et in ⁵ censura, si jam es censor, ut spero, de proavo multum cogitato tuo.

EPISTOLA XII.

M. F. C. APPIO PULCHRO S. D.

GRATULABOR ¹ tibi prius, ita enim rerum ordo postulat, deinde ad me converter. Ego vero vehementer gratulor de iudicio ambitus: neque id, quod nemini dubium fuit, absolutum esse te: sed illud, quod quo melior civis, quo vir clarior, quo fortior amicus es, quoque plura virtutis et industriae ornamenta in te sunt, eo mirandum est magis, nullam ne in tabellae quidem latebra fuisse absconditam
malevo-

malevolentiam, quae te impugnare auderet : non horum temporum, non horum hominum atque morum negotium : nihil jam sum pridem admiratus magis. De me autem, suscipe paulisper meas partes, et eum te esse finge, qui sum ego : si facile inveneris, quod dicas, noli ignoscere haesitationi meae. Ego vero velim mihi Tulliaeque meae, sicut tu amicissime et suavissime optas, prospere evenire ea, quae me insciente facta sunt a meis : sed ita cecidisse, ut agerentur eo tempore, spero omnino cum aliqua felicitate, et opto. Veruntamen plus me in hac spe, tua sapientia et humanitas consolatur, quam opportunitas temporis. Itaque, quemadmodum expediam exitum hujus institutae orationis, non reperio. Neque enim tristius dicere quidquam debeo ea de re, quam tu ipse ominibus optimis prosequeris. Neque non me tamen mordet aliquid : in quo unum vereor, ne tu parum perspicias ea, quae gesta sint ab aliis esse gesta, quibus ego ita mandaram, ut cum tam longe abfuturus essem ; ad me ne referrent ; agerent, quod probassent. In hoc autem mihi illud occurrit : quid tu igitur si affuisses ? rem probassem. De tempore, nihil te invito, nihil sine consilio egissem tuo. Vides sudare me, jamdudum laborantem, quomodo ea tuear, quae mihi tuenda sunt,

et

et te non offendam. Leva me igitur hoc onere. Nunquam enim mihi videor tractasse causam difficiliorem. Sic habeto tamen: nisi jam tunc omnia negotia cum summa tua dignitate diligentissime confecissem, tametsi nihil videbatur ad meum erga te pristinum studium addi posse: tamen, hac mihi affinitate nuntiata, non majore equidem studio, sed acrius, apertius, significantius dignitatem tuam defendissem. Decedenti mihi, et jam imperio annuo terminato, ante diem III nonas Sextiles, cum ad Sidam navi accederem, et mecum Q. Servilius esset, literae a meis sunt redditae. Dixi statim Servilio, etenim videbatur esse commotus, ut omnia a me majora exspectaret. Quid multa? benevolentior tibi, quam fui, nihilo sum factus, diligentior ad declarandam benevolentiam multo. Nam ut vetus nostra simultas antea stimulabat me, ut caverem, ne cui suspicionem fide reconciliatae gratiae darem: sic affinitas novam curam mihi affert cavendi, ne quid de summo meo erga te amore detractum esse videatur. Vale.

EPISTOLA XIII.

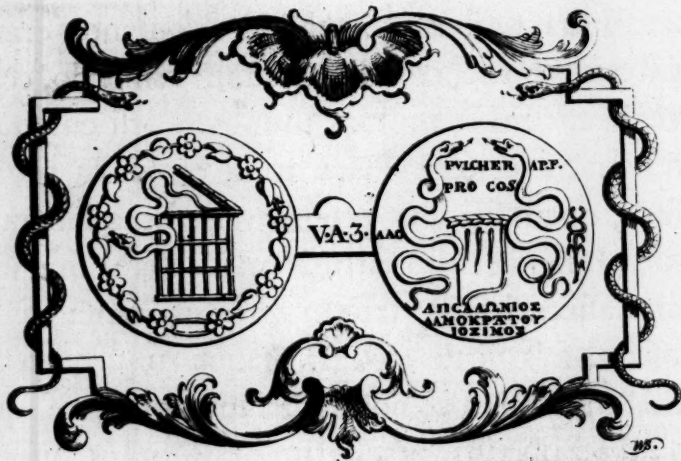
M.T.C. APPIO PULCHRO S.P.D.

QUASI¹ divinarem, tali in officio fore mihi aliquando expetendum studium tuum, sic, cum de tuis rebus gestis agebatur, inferviebam honori tuo. Dicam tamen vere; plus, quam acceperas, reddidisti. Quis enim ad me non perscripsit, te non solum auctoritate orationis, sententia tua, quibus ego a tali viro contentus eram, sed etiam opera, consilio, domum veniendo, conveniendis meis, nullum munus officii cuiquam reliquum fecisse? Haec mihi ampliora multo sunt, quam illa ipsa, propter quae haec laborantur. Insignia enim virtutis multi etiam sine virtute affecuti sunt, talium virorum tanta studia assequi sola virtus potest. Itaque mihi propono fructum amicitiae nostrae ipsam amicitiam, qua nihil est uberius, praesertim in iis studiis, quibus uterque nostrum devinctus est. Nam tibi me profiteor et in republica socium, de qua idem sentimus, et in quotidiana vita conjunctum cum iis artibus² studiisque, quae colimus. Velim ita fortuna tulisset, quanti ego omnes tuos facio, uti tu meos³ facere posses: quod tamen ipsum, nescio qua permotus animi divinatione, non despero. Sed hoc nihil ad te: nostrum est onus.

G

Illud

Illud velim sic habeas, quod intelliges, hac re novata additum potius aliquid ad meum erga te studium, cui nihil videbatur addi posse, quam quidquam esse detractum. Cum haec scribebam, censorem te jam esse sperabam. Eo brevior est haec epistola, et, ut adversus magistrum ⁴ morum, modestior. Vale.





MARCI
TULLII CICERONIS
EPISTOLARUM
AD FAMILIARES
LIBER IV.

EPISTOLA I.

M.T.C. SER. SULPICIO S.D.

CAJUS ¹Trebatius, familiaris meus, ad me scripsit, te ex se quaesisse quibus in locis essem: molesteque te ferre, quod me propter valetudinem tuam, cum ad urbem ²accessissem, non vidisses: et hoc tempore velle te mecum, si propius accessissem, de officio utriusque nostrum communicare. Utinam, Servi, salvis rebus, sic
G 2 enim

enim est dicendum, colloqui potuissimus inter nos: profecto aliquid opis occidenti reipublicae tulissimus. Cognoram enim jam absens, te haec mala multo ante providentem, defensorem pacis et in consulatu³ tuo et post consulatum fuisse. Ego autem cum consilium tuum probarem, et idem ipse sentirem, nihil proficiebam. Sero enim veneram; solus eram, rudis esse videbar in causa, incideram in hominum pugnandi cupidorum insanias. Nunc, quoniam nihil jam videmur opitulari posse reipublicae, si quid est, in quo nobismetipsis consulere possimus, non ut aliquid ex pristino statu nostro retineamus, sed ut quam honestissime lugeamus; nemo est omnium, quicum potius mihi, quam tecum, communicandum putem. Nec enim clarissimorum virorum, quorum similes esse debemus, exempla, neque doctissimorum, quos semper coluisti, praecepta te fugiunt. Atque ipse antea ad te scripsissem, te frustra in senatum, sive potius in conventum⁴ senatorum esse venturum, ni veritus essem, ne ejus animum offenderem, qui a me, ut te imitarer, petebat. Cui⁵ quidem ego, me cum rogaret, ut adesset in senatu, eadem omnia, quae a te de pace et de Hispaniis dicta sunt, ostendi me esse dicturum. Res, vides, quomodo se habeat: orbem terrarum, imperiis distributis, ardere

dere bello : urbem sine legibus, sine judiciis, sine jure, sine fide, relictam direptioni et incendiis. Itaque mihi venire in mentem nihil potest, non modo quid sperem, sed vix jam quid audeam optare. Sin autem tibi, homini prudentissimo, videtur utile esse nos colloqui, quanquam longius etiam cogitabam ab urbe discedere, cujus jam etiam nomen invitus audio, tamen propius accedam. Trebatioque mandavi, ut si quid tu eum velles ad me mittere, ne recusaret ; idque ut facias velim ; aut si quem tuorum fidelium voles, ad me mittas ; ne aut tibi exire ex urbe necesse sit, aut mihi accedere. Ego tantum tibi tribuo, quantum mihi fortasse arrogo, ut exploratum habeam, quidquid nos communi sententia statuerimus, id omnes homines probaturos. Vale.

EPISTOLA II.

M.T.C. SER. SULPICIO S.D.

AD. ¹ III kalendas Majas cum essem in Cumano, accepi tuas literas : quibus letis, cognovi non satis prudenter fecisse Philotimum : qui cum abs te mandata haberet, ut scribis, de omnibus rebus, ipse ad me non venisset, literas tuas misisset : quas intellexi breviores fuisse, quod eum perlaturum putasses. Sed tamen,

postquam literas tuas legi, Postumia tua me convenit, et Servius noster. His placuit, ut tu in Cumanum venires: quod etiam² mecum, ut ad te scriberem, egerunt. Quod meum consilium exquiris, id est tale, ut capere facilius ipse possim, quam alteri dare. Quid enim est, quod audeam suadere tibi, homini summa auctoritate summaque prudentia? si, quid rectissimum sit, quaerimus; perspicuum est. Si, quid maxime expediat; obscurum. Sin ii sumus, qui profecto esse debemus, ut nihil arbitremur expedire, nisi quod rectum honestumque sit, non potest esse dubium, quid faciendum nobis sit. Quod existimas meam causam conjunctam esse cum tua, certe similis in utroque nostrum, cum optime sentiremus, error fuit. Nam omnia utriusque consilia ad concordiam spectaverunt: qua cum ipsi Caesar nihil esset utilius, gratiam quoque nos inire ab eo, defendenda pace, arbitrabamur. Quantum nos fefellerit, et quem in locum res deducta sit, vides. Neque solum ea perspicis, quae³ geruntur, quaeque jam gesta sunt, sed etiam qui cursus rerum, qui exitus futurus sit. Ergo aut probare oportet ea, quae fiunt: aut interesse, etiamsi non probes: quorum altera mihi turpis, altera etiam periculosa ratio videtur. Restat ut discedendum putem: in quo reliqua videtur esse deliberatio,

deliberatio, quod consilium in discessu, quae loca sequamur. Omnino cum miserior res nunquam accidit, tum ne deliberatio quidem difficilior. Nihil enim constitui potest, quod non incurrat in magnam aliquam difficultatem. Tu, si videbitur, ita censeo facias: ut, si habes jam statutum, quid tibi agendum putes, in quo non sit conjunctum consilium tuum cum meo, supersedeas hoc labore itineris. Sin autem est quod mecum communicare velis, ego te expectabo. Tu, quod tuo commodo fiat, quam primum velim venias, sicut intellexi et Servio et Postumiae placere. Vale.

EPISTOLA III.

M.T.C. SER. SULPICIO S.D.

VEHEMENTER te esse sollicitum, et in communibus miseriis praecipuo quodam dolore angi, multi ad nos quotidie deferunt. Quod quanquam minime miror, et meum quodammodo agnosco: doleo tamen, te sapientia praeditum prope singulari, non tuis bonis delectari potius, quam alienis malis laborare. Me quidem, etsi nemini concedo, qui majorem ex pernicië et peste reipublicae molestiam traxerit, tamen multa jam consolantur, maximeque conscientia consiliorum meorum. Multo enim ante

te tanquam ex aliqua specula prospexi tempestatem futuram; neque id solum mea sponte, sed multo etiam magis monente et denuntiante te. Etsi enim abfui magnam partem² consulatus tui, tamen et absens cognoscebam, quae esset tua in hoc pestifero bello cavendo et praedicendo³ sententia; et ipse affui primis temporibus tui consulatus, cum accuratissime monuisti senatum collectis omnibus bellis civilibus, ut et illa timerent, quae meminissent; et scirent, cum superiores, nullo tali exemplo antea in republica cognito, tam crudeles fuissent, quicunque postea rempublicam oppressisset armis, multo intolerabiliorem futurum. Nam quod exemplo fit, id etiam jure fieri putant: sed aliquid, atque adeo multa addunt et afferunt de suo. Quare meminisse debes, eos, qui auctoritatem et⁴ consilium tuum non sunt secuti, sua stultitia occidisse, cum tua prudentia salvi esse potuissent. Dices, quid me ista res consolatur in tantis tenebris et quasi parietinis reipublicae? Est omnino vix consolabilis dolor: tanta est omnium rerum amissio, et desperatio recuperandi. Sed tamen et Caesar ipse ita de te judicat, et omnes cives sic existimant, quasi lumen aliquod, extinctis caeteris, elucere sanctitatem et prudentiam et dignitatem tuam. Haec tibi ad levandas molestias

molestias magna esse debent. Quod autem a tuis abes, id eo levius ferendum est, quod eodem tempore a multis et magnis molestiis abes : quas ad te omnes perscriberem, nisi vererer, ne ea cognosceres absens, quae quia non vides, mihi videris meliore esse conditione, quam nos qui videmus. Haecenus existimo nostram consolationem recte adhibitam esse, quoad certior ab homine amicissimo fieres iis de rebus, quibus levare possent molestiae tuae. Reliqua sunt in te ipso, neque mihi ignota, nec minima solatia, et, ut quidem ego sentio, multo maxima : quae ego experiens quotidie, sic probo, ut ea mihi salutem afferre videantur. Te autem ab initio aetatis memoria teneo summe omnium doctrinarum studiosum fuisse, omniaque, quae a sapientissimis ad bene vivendum tradita essent, summo studio curaque didicisse ; quae quidem vel optimis rebus, et usui et delectationi esse possent ; his vero temporibus habemus aliud nihil, in quo acquiescamus. Nihil faciam insolenter, neque te tali vel scientia, vel natura praeditum hortabor, ut ad eas te referas artes, quibus a primis temporibus aetatis, studium tuum dedisti : tantum dicam, quod te spero approbaturum, me, postea quam illi arti, cui studueram, nihil esse loci, neque in curia neque in foro viderem, omnem
meam

meam curam atque operam ad philosophiam contulisse. Tuae ⁵scientiae excellenti ac singulari non multo plus, quam nostrae, relictum est loci. Quare non equidem te moneo, sed mihi ita persuasi, te quoque in iisdem versari rebus, quae etiam si minus prodesse, animum tamen a sollicitudine abducerent. Servius quidem tuus in omnibus ingenuis artibus, in primisque in hac, in qua ego me scripsi acquiescere, ita versatur, ut excellat. A me vero sic diligitur, ut tibi uni concedam, praeterea nemini; mihiq; ab eo gratia refertur: in quo ille existimat, quod facile appareat, cum me colat et observet, tibi quoque in eo se facere gratissimum. Vale.

EPISTOLA IV.

M.T.C. SER. SULPICIO S.D.

ACCIPIO ¹excusationem tuam, qua usus es, cur saepius ad me literas uno ²exemplo dedisses: sed accipio ex ea parte, quatenus aut negligentia aut improbitate eorum, qui epistolas accipiant, fieri scribis, ne ad nos perferantur. Illam ³partem excusationis, qua te scribis orationis paupertate, sic enim appellas, iisdem verbis epistolas saepius mittere, nec nosco, nec probo. Et ego ipse, quem tu per jocum, sic enim accipio, divitias orationis habere dicis, me non esse verborum

verborum admodum inopem agnosco: *εἰς ὧν ἐνέειμι* enim non necesse est: sed tamen idem, nec hoc *εἰς ὧν ἐνέειμι*, facile cedo tuorum scriptorum subtilitati et elegantiae. Consilium tuum, quo te usum scribis hoc Achaicum negotium non recusavisse, cum semper probavissem, tum multo magis probavi lectis tuis proximis literis. Omnes enim causae, quas commemoras, justissimae sunt, tuaque et auctoritate et prudentia dignissimae. Quod aliter cecidisse rem existimas, atque opinatus sis, id tibi nullo modo assentior. Sed quia tanta perturbatio et confusio est rerum, ita perculsa et prostrata foedissimo bello jacent omnia, ut is cuique locus, ubi ipse sit, et sibi quisque, miserrimus esse videatur: propterea et tui te consilii poenitet: et nos qui domi sumus, tibi beati videmur: at contra nobis non tu quidem vacuus molestiis, sed prae nobis beatus. Atque hoc ipso melior est tua, quam nostra conditio, quod tu, quid doleat, scribere audes: nos ne id quidem tuto possumus; nec id victoris vitio, quo nihil moderatius, sed ipsius victoriae, quae civilibus bellis semper est insolens. Uno te vicimus, quod de + Marcelli, collegae tui, salute paulo ante, quam tu, cognovimus: etiam, mehercule, quod, quemadmodum ea res ageretur, vidimus. Nam sic fac existimes: post has misérias, id est, postquam

quam armis disceptari coeptum est de jure publico, nihil esse actum aliud cum dignitate. Nam et ipse Caesar accusata acerbitate Marcelli, sic enim appellabat, laudataque honorificentissime et aequitate tua et prudentia, repente praeter spem dixit, se senatui, roganti de Marcello, ne hominis quidem causa negaturum. Fecerat autem hoc senatus, ut, cum a L.⁵ Pisone mentio esset facta de Marcello, et cum C. Marcellus se ad Caesaris pedes abjecisset, cunctus confurgeret, et ad Caesarem supplex accederet. Noli quaerere. Ita mihi pulcher hic dies visus est, ut speciem aliquam viderer videre quasi reviviscentis reipublicae. Itaque cum omnes ante me rogati Caesari gratias egissent, praeter Volcatium, is enim, si eo loco esset, negavit se facturum fuisse, ego rogatus, mutavi meum consilium. Nam statueram, non mehercule inertia, sed desiderio pristinae dignitatis, in perpetuum tacere. Fregit hoc meum consilium et Caesaris magnitudo animi, et senatus officium. Itaque pluribus⁶ verbis egi Caesari gratias: meque metuo ne etiam in caeteris rebus honesto otio privarim: quod erat unum solatium in malis. Sed tamen quoniam effugi ejus offensionem, qui fortasse arbitraretur me hanc rempublicam non putare, si perpetuo tacerem, modice hoc faciam, aut etiam intra modum:

dum : ut et illius voluntati, et meis studiis serviam. Nam etsi a prima aetate me omnis ars et doctrina liberalis, et maxime philosophia delectavit : tamen hoc studium quotidie ingravescit, credo et aetatis maturitate ad prudentiam, et his temporum vitiis, ut nulla res alia levare animum molestiis possit. A quo studio te abduci negotiis intelligo ex tuis literis : sed tamen aliquid jam noctes te adjuvabunt. Servius tuus, vel potius noster, summa me observantia colit : cujus ego cum omni probitate, summaque virtute, tum studiis doctrinaque delector. Is mecum saepe de tua mansione, aut decessione communicat. Adhuc in hac sum sententia, nihil ut faciamus, nisi quod maxime Caesar velle videatur. Res sunt ejusmodi, ut si Romae sis, nihil te, praeter tuos, delectare possit. De reliquis, nihil melius ipso est. Caeteri, et caetera ejusmodi, ut, si alterutrum necesse sit, audire ea malis, quam videre. Hoc nostrum consilium nobis minime jucundum est, qui te videre cupimus : sed consulimus tibi. Vale.

EPISTOLA V.

M.T.C. SER. SULPICIO S.P.D.

M'ⁱ CURIUS, qui Patris negotiatur, multis et magnis de causis a me diligitur. Nam et amicitia pervetus mihi cum eo est, ut primum in forum venit, instituta: et Patris cum aliquoties antea, tum proxime hoc miserrimo bello, domus ejus tota mihi patuit; qua si opus fuisset, tam essem usus quam mea. Maximum autem mihi vinculum cum eo est quasi sanctioris cujusdam necessitudinis, quod est Attici nostri familiarissimus, eumque unum praeter ceteros observat ac diligit. Quem si tu jam forte cognosti, puto me hoc, quod facio, facere serius. Ea est enim humanitate et observantia, ut eum tibi jam per se ipsum commendatum putem. Quod tamen si ita est, magnopere a te quaeso, ut ad eam voluntatem, si quam in illum ante has meas literas contulisti, quam maximus post mea commendatione cumulus accedat. Sin autem propter verecundiam suam minus se tibi obtulit, aut nondum eum satis habes cognitum, aut quae causa est, cur majoris commendationis indigeat; sic tibi eum commendando, ut neque majore studio quenquam, neque justioribus de causis commendare possim. Faciamque

amque id, quod debent facere ii, qui religiose et fine² ambitione commendant: spondebo enim tibi, vel potius spondeo, in meque recipio, eos esse M'. Curii mores, eamque tum probitatem tum etiam humanitatem, ut eum et amicitia tua, et tam accurata commendatione, si tibi sit cognitus, dignum sis existimaturus. Mihi certe gratissimum feceris, si intellexero, has literas tantum, quantum scribens confidebam, apud te pondus habuisse.

EPISTOLA VI.

CICERO SERVIO S.

NON² concedam, ut Attico nostro, quem elatum laetitia vidi, jucundiores tuae, suavissime ad eum et humanissime scriptae, literae fuerint, quam mihi. Nam etsi utrique nostrum prope aequae gratae erant, tamen ego admirabar magis, te, quasi rogatus aut certe admonitus, liberaliter Attico respondisses, quod tamen dubium nobis, quin ita futurum fuerit, non erat, ultro ad eum scripsisse, eique nec opinanti voluntatem tuam tantam per literas detulisse. De quo non modo rogare te, ut eo studiosius mea quoque causa facias, non debeo, nihil enim cumulatius fieri potest, quam polliceris: sed ne gratias quidem agere, quod tu et ipsius causa, et
tua

tua sponte feceris. Illud tamen dicam, mihi id, quod fecisti, esse gratissimum. Tale enim tuum iudicium de homine eo, quem unice diligo, non potest mihi non summe esse jucundum. Quod cum ita sit, esse gratum necesse est. Sed tamen, quando mihi, pro conjunctione nostra, vel peccare apud te in scribendo licet: utrumque eorum, quae negavi mihi facienda esse, faciam. Nam et ad id, quod Attici causa te ostendisti esse facturum, tantum velim addas, quantum ex nostro amore accessionis fieri potest. Et, quod modo verebar tibi gratias agere, nunc plane ago, teque ita existimare volo, quibuscunque officiis in Epiroticis reliquisque rebus Atticum obstrinxeris, iisdem me tibi obligatum fore. Vale.

EPISTOLA VII.

M.T.C. SER. SULPICIO S.P.D.

CUM¹ Lyfone Patrensi est mihi quidem hospitium vetus, quam ego necessitudinem sancte colendam puto: sed ea causa etiam cum aliis compluribus: familiaritas tanta nullo cum hospite: et ea cum officiis ejus multis, tum etiam consuetudine quotidiana sic est aucta, ut nihil sit familiaritate nostra conjunctius. Is cum Romae annum prope ita fuisset, ut mecum viveret, etsi eramus in magna spe, te meis literis
 commen-

commendationeque diligentissime facturum, id quod fecisti, ut ejus rem et fortunas absentis tuerere: tamen, quod in unius potestate erant omnia, et quod Lyso fuerat in nostra causa nostrisque praesidiis, quotidie aliquid timebamus. Effectum tamen est et ipsius splendore, et nostro, reliquorumque hospitum studio, ut omnia, quae vellemus, a Caesare impetrarentur: quod intelliges ex iis literis, quas Caesar ad te dedit. Nunc non modo non remittimus tibi aliquid ex nostra commendatione, quasi adepti jam omnia: sed eo vehementius a te contendimus, ut Lysonem in fidem necessitudinemque tuam recipias. Cujus dubia fortuna timidius tecum agebamus, verentes, ne quid accideret ejusmodi, ut ne tu quidem mederi posses: explorata vero ejus incolumitate, omnia à te studia summa cura peto. Quae ne singula enumerem, totam tibi domum commendo. In his adolescentem filium ejus, quem C. Memmius Gemellus, cliens meus, cum in calamitate exilii sui Patrensis civis factus esset, Patrensi legibus adoptavit: ut ejus ipsius hereditatis jus causamque tueare. Caput illud est, ut Lysonem, quem ego virum optimum gratissimumque cognovi, recipias in necessitudinem tuam. Quod si feceris, non dubito quin in eo diligendo, caeterisque postea commendando,

H

idem

idem, quod ego, sis iudicii ét voluntatis habiturus. Quod cum fieri vehementer studeo, tum etiam illud vereor, ne si minus cumulate videre fecisse aliquid ejus causa, me ille negligenter scripsisse putet, non te oblitum mei. Quanti enim me faceres, cum ex sermonibus quotidianis meis, tum ex epistolis etiam tuis potuit cognoscere.

EPISTOLA VIII.

CICERO SERVIO S.

CUM antea ¹ capiebam ex officio meo voluptatem, quod memineram, quam tibi diligenter Lysonem, hospitem et familiarem meum, commendassem; tum vero postea quam ex literis ejus cognovi, tibi eum falso suspectum fuisse, vehementissime laetatus sum, me tam diligenter in eo commendando fuisse. Ita enim scripsit ad me, sibi meam commendationem maximo adjumento fuisse, quod ad te delatum diceret, sese contra dignitatem tuam Romae de te loqui solitum esse. De quo, etsi pro tua facilitate et humanitate purgatum se tibi scribit esse; tamen primum, ut debeo, tibi maximas gratias ago, cum tantum literae meae potuerunt, ut, his lectis, omnem offensionem suspicionis, quam habueras de Lysonē, deponeres: deinde credas mihi affirmanti velim, me hoc non pro Lysonē magis, quam

quam pro omnibus scribere, hominem esse neminem, qui unquam mentionem tui sine tua summa laude fecerit. Lyso vero cum mecum prope quotidie esset, unaque viveret, non solum quia me libenter audire arbitrabatur, sed quia libentius ipse loquebatur, omnia mihi tua et facta et dicta laudabat. Quapropter, etsi a te ita tractatur, ut jam non desideret commendationem meam, unusque se literis meis omnia consecutum putet, tamen a te peto in majorem modum, ut eum etiam atque etiam tuis officiis, liberalitate complectare. Scriberem ad te, qualis vir esset, ut superioribus literis feceram, nisi eum jam per seipsum tibi satis esse notum arbitrarer. Vale.

EPISTOLA IX.

CICERO SERVIO S.

ASCLAPONE ¹ Patrensi, medico, utor valde familiariter, ejusque cum consuetudo mihi jucunda fuit, tum ars etiam, quam sum expertus in valetudine meorum. In qua mihi cum ipsa scientia, tum etiam fidelitate benevolentiaque satisfecit. Hunc igitur tibi commendo: et a te peto, ut des operam, ut intelligat, diligenter me scripsisse de sese, meamque commendationem usui magno sibi fuisse. Erit id mihi vehementer gratum.

EPISTOLA X.

M.T.C. SER. SULPICIO S.P.D.

M AEMILIUS ¹Avianus ab ineunte adolescentia me observavit, semperque dilexit, vir cum bonus, tum perhumanus, et in omni genere officii diligendus. Quem si arbitrarer esse ²Sicyone, et nisi audirem ibi eum etiam nunc, ubi ego reliqui, Cybiraе commorari, nihil esset necesse plura me ad te de eo scribere. Perficeret enim ipse profecto suis moribus, suaeque humanitate, ut sine cujusquam commendatione diligeretur abs te non minus, quam et a me, et a caeteris suis familiaribus. Sed cum illum abesse putem, commendo tibi majorem in modum domum ejus, quae est Sicyone, remque familiarem, maxime Caium Avianum Hammonium, libertum ejus : quem quidem tibi etiam suo nomine commendo. Nam cum propterea mihi est probatus, quod est in patronum suum officio et fide singulari, tum etiam in me ipsum magna officia contulit, mihiq̄ue molestissimis temporibus ita fideliter benevoleque praesto fuit, ut si a me manumissus esset. Itaque peto a te, ut eum Hammonium, et in patroni ejus negotio sic tueare, ut ejus procuratorem, quem tibi commendo, et ipsum suo nomine diligas habeasque in numero tuorum.

tuorum. Hominem pudentem et officiosum cognosces, et dignum, qui a te diligatur.

EPISTOLA XI.

CICERO SERVIO S.

LICET eodem exemplo saepius tibi hujus generis literas mittam, cum gratias agam, quod meas commendationes tam diligenter observes: quod feci in aliis, et faciam, ut video, saepius: sed tamen non parcam operae, et ut vos soletis in formulis, sic ego in epistolis de eadem re alio modo. C. Avianus igitur Hammonius incredibiles mihi gratias per literas egit, et suo, et Aemilii Aviani, patroni sui, nomine, nec liberalius, nec honorificentius potuisse tractari, nec se praesentem, nec rem familiarem absentis patroni sui. Id mihi cum jucundum est eorum causa, quos tibi ego summa necessitudine et summa conjunctione adductus commendaveram, quod M. Aemilius unus est ex meis familiarissimis atque intimis, maxime necessarius homo, et magnis meis beneficiis devinctus, et prope omnium, qui mihi debere aliquid videntur, gratissimus: tum multo jucundius, te esse in me tali voluntate, ut plus pro sis amicis meis, quam ego praesens fortasse prodessem: credo, quod magis ego dubitarem, quid illorum causa facerem, quam

tu, quid mea. Sed hoc non dubito, quin existimes mihi esse gratum. Illud te rogo, ut illos quoque gratos homines esse putes: quod ita esse tibi promitto atque confirmo. Quare velim, quidquid habent negotii, des operam, quod comodo tuo fiat, ut, te obtinente Achaiam, conficiant. Ego cum tuo Servio jucundissime conjunctissimeque vivo: magnamque cum ex ingenio ejus, singularique studio, tum ex virtute et probitate voluptatem capio. Vale.

EPISTOLA XII.

CICERO SERVIO S.

T MANLIUM, qui ¹negotiatur Thespiis, vehementer diligo. Nam et semper me coluit, diligentissimeque observavit, et a studiis nostris non abhorret. Accedit eo, quod Varro ²Murena magnopere ejus causa vult omnia: qui tamen existimavit, etsi suis literis, quibus tibi Manlium commendabat, valde confideret, tamen mea commendatione aliquid accessionis fore. Me quidem cum Manlii familiaris, tum Varronis studium commovit, ut ad te quam accuratissime scriberem. Gratissimum igitur mihi feceris, si huic commendationi meae tantum tribueris, quantum cui tribuisti plurimum: id est, si T. Manlium, quam maxime, quibuscunque rebus

rebus honeste ac pro tua dignitate poteris, juveris atque ornaveris. Ex ipsius praeterea gratissimis et humanissimis moribus confirmo tibi, te eum, quem soles fructum a bonorum virorum officiis expectare, esse capturum. Vale.

EPISTOLA XIII.

CICERO SERVIO S.

L COSSINIO, amico¹ et tribuli tuo, valde familiariter utor. Nam et inter nosmet ipsos vetus usus intercedit, et Atticus noster majorem etiam mihi cum Cossinio consuetudinem fecit. Itaque tota Cossinii domus me diligit, in primisque libertus ejus L. Cossinius Anchialus, homo et patrono et patroni necessariis, quo in numero ego sum, probatissimus. Hunc tibi ita commendo, ut, si meus libertus esset, eodemque apud me loco esset, quo et est apud patronum suum, majore studio commendare non possem. Quare pergratum mihi feceris, si eum in amicitiam tuam receperis, atque eum, quod sine molestia tua fiat, si qua in re opus ei fuerit, juveris. Id et mihi vehementer gratum erit, et tibi postea jucundum. Hominem enim summa probitate, humanitate, observantiaque cognosces. Vale.

EPISTOLA XIV.

CICERO SERVIO S.

HAGESARETUS¹ Larissæus magnis meis beneficiis ornatus in consulatu meo, memor et gratus fuit, meque postea diligentissime coluit. Eum tibi magnopere commendo, ut et hospitem meum, et familiarem, et gratum hominem, et virum bonum, et principem civitatis suae, et tua necessitudine dignissimum. Pergratum mihi feceris, si dederis operam, ut is intelligat hanc meam commendationem magnum apud te pondus habuisse. Vale.

EPISTOLA XV.

CICERO SERVIO S.

LMESCINIUS¹ ea mecum necessitudine conjunctus est, quod mihi quaestor fuit. Sed hanc causam, quam ego, ut a majoribus accepi, semper gravem duxi, fecit virtute et humanitate sua iustiore. Itaque eo sic utor, ut nec familiarius ullo, nec libentius. Is quanquam confidere videbatur, et sua causa, quae honeste posses, libenter esse facturum; magnum esse tamen speravit apud te meas quoque literas. Id cum ipse ita judicabat, tum pro familiari consuetudine saepe ex me audierat, quam suavis esset
inter

inter nos et quanta conjunctio. Peto igitur a te, tanto scilicet studio, quanto intelligis debere me petere pro homine tam mihi necessario, et tam familiari, ut ejus negotia, quae sunt in Achaia, ex eo, quod heres est M. Mindio, fratri suo, qui Eli² negotiatus est, explites et expedias cum jure et potestate, quam habes, tum etiam auctoritate et consilio tuo. Sic enim praescriptimus iis, quibus ea negotia mandavimus, ut omnibus in rebus, quae in aliquam controversiam vocarentur, te arbitro, et, quod commodum tuo fieri posset, te³ disceptatore uterentur. Id ut honoris mei causa suscipias, vehementer te etiam atque etiam rogo. Illud praeterea, si non alienum tua dignitate putabis esse, feceris mihi pergratum: si qui difficiliore erunt, ut rem sine controversia confici nolint, si eos, quando cum senatore res est, Romam rejeceris. Quod quo minore dubitatione facere possis, literas ad te a M. Lepido⁴ consule, non quae te aliquid juberent, neque enim id tuae dignitatis esse arbitramur, sed quodam modo quasi commendatitias sumimus. Scriberem, quam id beneficium bene apud Mescinium positurus esses, nisi et te scire confiderem, et mihi peterem. Sic enim velim existimes, non minus me de illius re laborare, quam ipsum de sua. Sed cum illum studeo quam
facillime

facillime ad suum pervenire, tum illud laboro, ut non minimum hac mea commendatione consecutum arbitretur. Vale.

EPISTOLA XVI.

CICERO SERVIO S.

ETSI libenter petere a te soleo, si quid opus est meorum cuipiam; tamen multo libentius gratias tibi ago, cum fecisti aliquid commendatione mea; quod semper facis. Incredibile est enim, quas mihi gratias omnes agant, etiam mediocriter a me tibi commendati: quae mihi omnia grata, sed de L. Mescinio gratissimum. Sic enim est mecum locutus, te, ut meas literas legeris, statim procuratoribus suis pollicitum esse omnia, multo vero plura et majora fecisse. Id igitur, puto enim etiam atque etiam mihi dicendum esse, velim existimes, mihi te fecisse gratissimum. Quod quidem hoc vehementius laetor, quod ex ipso Mescinio te video magnam capturum voluptatem. Est enim in eo cum virtus et probitas, et summum officium, summaque observantia, tum studia illa nostra, quibus antea delectabamur, nunc etiam vivimus. Quod reliquum est, velim augeas tua in eum beneficia omnibus rebus, quae te erunt dignae. Sed duo quidem te nominatim rogo: primum
ut,

ut, si quid ² satisfidandum erit amplius eo nomine non peti, cures ut satisfidetur fide mea. Deinde, cum fere consistat hereditas in iis rebus, quas avertit ³ Oppia, quae uxor Mindii fuit; adjuves in easque rationem, quemadmodum ea mulier Romam perducatur. Quod si putarit illa fore, ut opinio nostra est, negotium conficiemus. Hoc ut assequamur, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Illud, quod supra scripsi, id tibi confirmo in meque recipio, te ea, quae fecisti Mescinii causa, quaeque feceris, ita bene collocaturum, ut ipse iudices, homini te gratissimo, jucundissimo benigne fecisse. Volo enim ad id, quod mea causa fecisti, hoc etiam accedere. Nec Lacedaemonios dubitare arbitror, quin ipsi sua majorumque suorum auctoritate satis commendati sint fidei et iustitiae tuae: et ego, qui te optime novissem, non dubitavi, quin tibi notissima et iura et merita populorum essent. Itaque cum a me peteret Philippus Lacedaemonius, ut tibi civitatem commendarem: etsi memineram, me ei civitati omnia debere, tamen respondi, commendatione Lacedaemonios apud te non egere. Itaque sic velim existimes, me omnes Achaiae civitates arbitrari pro horum temporum perturbatione felices, quod his tu praesidis: eundemque me ita iudicare, te, quod unus optime nosset

nosses non nostra solum, sed etiam Graeciae monumenta omnia, tua sponte amicum Lacedaemoniis et esse et fore. Quare tantum a te peto, ut cum ea facies Lacedaemoniorum causa, quae tua fides, amplitudo, iustitia postulat, ut his, si tibi videbitur, significes, te non moleste ferre, quod intelligas, ea quae facias, mihi quoque grata esse. Pertinet enim ad officium meum eos existimare, curae mihi suas res esse. Hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Vale.

EPISTOLA XVII.

SERV. SULPICIUS M. T. CICERONI
S. D.

POSTEAQUAM¹ mihi renuntiatum est de obitu Tulliae, filiae tuae, sane quam pro eo, ac debui, graviter molesteque tuli, communemque eam calamitatem existimavi: qui si istic affuissem, neque tibi defuissem, coramque meum dolorem tibi declarassem. Etsi genus hoc consolationis miserum atque acerbum est: propterea quia per quos ea confieri debet, propinquos ac familiares, ipsi pari molestia afficiuntur, neque sine lacrymis multis id conari possunt: uti magis ipsi videantur aliorum consolatione indigere, quam aliis posse suum officium praestare: tamen quae in praesentia in mentem mihi venerunt,

runt, decrevi brevi ad te perscribere, non quod ea te fugere existimem, sed quod forsitan, dolore impeditus, minus ea perspicias. Quid est, quod tanto opere te commoveat tuus dolor intestinus? cogita quemadmodum adhuc fortuna nobiscum egerit: ea nobis erepta esse, quae hominibus non minus quam liberi cara esse debent, patriam, honestatem, dignitatem, honores omnes. Hoc uno incommodo addito, quid ad dolorem adjungi potuit? aut qui non in illis rebus exercitatus animus² callere jam debet, atque omnia minoris existimare? an illius vicem, credo doles? quoties in eam cogitationem necesse est et tu veneris, et nos saepe incidimus, hisce temporibus non pessime cum iis esse actum, quibus sine dolore licitum est mortem cum vita commutare? quid autem fuit, quod illam hoc tempore ad vivendum magnopere invitare posset? quae res? quae spes? quod animi solatium? Ut cum aliquo adolescente primario conjuncta aetatem ageret? Licitum est tibi, credo, pro tua dignitate ex hac juventute generum diligere, cujus fidei liberos tuos te tuto committere putares. An ut ea liberos ex sese pareret: quos cum florentes videret, laetaretur? qui rem a parente traditam per se tenere possent? honores ordinatim petaturi essent in republica? in amicorum negotiis libertate

bertate sua uti? Quid horum fuit, quod non prius, quam datum est, ademptum sit? At vero malum est liberos amittere. Malum, nisi hoc pejus sit, haec sufferre et perpeti. Quae res mihi non mediocrem consolationem attulit, volo tibi commemorare, si forte eadem res tibi minuere dolorem possit. Ex Asia rediens, cum ab Aegina Megaram versus navigarem, coepi regiones circumcirca prospicere. Post me erat Aegina, ante Megara, dextra Piraeetus, sinistra Corinthus: quae oppida quodam tempore florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata et diruta ante oculos jacent. Coepi egomet mecum sic cogitare: hem, nos homunculi indignamur, si quis nostrum interiit, aut occisus est, quorum vita brevior esse debet, cum uno loco tot oppidorum cadavera projecta jaceant? Visne tu te, Servi, cohibere et meminisse hominem te esse natum? crede mihi, cogitatione ea non mediocriter sum confirmatus. Hoc idem, si tibi videtur, fac ante oculos tibi proponas. Modo uno tempore tot viri clarissimi interierunt: de imperio praeterea tanta diminutio facta est: omnes provinciae conquassatae sunt. In unius mulierculae animula si jactura facta est, tanto opere commoveris? quae si hoc tempore non diem suum obisset, paucis post annis tamen ei moriendum fuit: quoniam homo nata fuerat.

Etiam

Etiam ab hisce tu rebus animum ac cogitationem tuam avoca, atque ea potius reminiscere, quae digna tua persona sunt: illam, quamdiu fuerit opus ei, vixisse; una cum republica fuisse; te patrem suum, praetorem, consulem, augurem vidisse; adolescentibus³ primariis nuptam fuisse; omnibus bonis prope perfunctam esse; cum respublica occideret, vita excessisse. Quid est, quod tu, aut illa, cum fortuna hoc nomine queri possitis? denique noli te oblivisci Ciceronem esse, et eum, qui aliis consueveris praecipere et dare consilium: neque imitare malos medicos, qui in alienis morbis profitentur tenere se medicinae scientiam, ipsi se curare non possunt: sed potius, quae aliis tute praecipere soles, ea tute tibi subijce, atque apud animum propone. Nullus dolor est, quem non longinquitas temporis minuat ac molliat: hoc te expectare tempus, tibi turpe est, ac non ei rei sapientia tua te occurrere. Quod si quis etiam inferis sensus est, qui illius in te amor fuit pietasque in omnes suos, hoc certe illa te facere non vult. Da hoc illi mortuae, da caeteris amicis ac familiaribus, qui tuo dolore moerent: da patriae, ut, si qua in re opus sit, opera et consilio tuo uti possit. Denique, quoniam in eam fortunam devenimus, ut etiam huic rei nobis serviendum sit: noli committere,

mittere, ut quisquam te putet non tam filiam, quam reipublicae tempora et aliorum victoriam lugere. Plura me ad te de hac re scribere pudet, ne videar prudentiae tuae diffidere. Quare, si hoc unum proposuero, finem faciam scribendi. Vidimus aliquoties secundam pulcherrime te ferre fortunam, magnamque ex ea re te laudem adipisci: fac aliquando intelligamus, adversam quoque te aequae ferre posse, neque id majus, quam debeat, tibi onus videri: ne ex omnibus virtutibus haec una tibi videatur deesse. Quod ad me attinet, cum te tranquillior animo esse cognoro, de iis rebus quae hic geruntur, quemadmodumque se provincia habeat, certior faciam. Vale.

EPISTOLA XVIII.

M.T.C. SER. SULPICIO S.D.

EGO vero, Servi, vellem, ut scribis, in meo gravissimo casu affuisses. Quantum enim praesens me adjuvare potueris et consolando, et prope aequae dolendo, facile ex eo intelligo, quod literis tuis lectis aliquantulum acquievi. Nam et ea scripsisti, quae levare luctum possent, et in me consolando non mediocrem ipse animi dolorem adhibuisti. Servius tamen tuus omnibus officiis, quae illi tempori tribui potuerunt, declaravit et
quanti

quanti ipse me faceret, et quam suum talem erga me animum tibi gratum putaret fore: cujus officia jucundiora scilicet saepe mihi fuerint, nunquam tamen gratiora. Me autem non oratio tua solum et societas paene aegritudinis, sed etiam auctoritas consolatur. Turpe enim esse existimo, me non ita ferre casum meum, ut tu, tali sapientia praeditus, ferendum putas. Sed opprimor interdum, et vix resisto dolori, quod ea me solatia deficiunt, quae caeteris, quorum mihi exempla propono, simili in fortuna non defuerunt. Nam et Q. Maximus, qui filium consularem, clarum virum et magnis rebus gestis amisit; et L. Paulus, qui duo septem diebus; et vester Gallus, et M. Cato, qui summo ingenio, summa virtute filium perdidit, iis temporibus fuerunt, ut eorum luctum ipsorum dignitas consolaretur ea, quam ex republica consequerentur. Mihi autem, amissis ornamentis iis, quae ipse commemoras, quaeque eram maximis laboribus adeptus, unum manebat illud solatium, quod ereptum est. Non amicorum negotiis, non rei publicae procuratione impediabantur cogitationes meae: nihil in foro agere libebat: adspicere curiam non poteram: existimabam, id quod erat, omnes me et industriae meae fructus et fortunae perdidisse. Sed, cum cogitarem, haec mihi

tecum et cum quibusdam esse communia : et cum frangerem jam ipse me, cogeremque illa ferre toleranter, habebam quo confugerem, ubi conquiescerem, cujus in sermone et suavitate omnes curas doloresque deponerem. Nunc autem hoc tam gravi vulnere etiam illa, quae² consanuisse videbantur, recrudescunt. Non enim ut tum me a republica moestum domus excipiebat, quae levaret : sic nunc domo moerens ad rempublicam confugere possum, ut in ejus bonis acquiescam : itaque et domo abssum et foro, quod nec eum dolorem, quem a republica capio, domus jam consolari potest, nec domesticum respublica. Quo magis te expecto, teque videre quam primum cupio. Major mihi levatio afferri nulla potest, quam conjunctio consuetudinis sermonumque nostrorum : quanquam sperabam tuum adventum, sic enim audiebam, appropinquare. Ego autem cum multis de causis te exopto quam primum videre, tum etiam, ut ante commentemur inter nos, qua ratione nobis traducendum sit hoc tempus : quod est totum ad³ unius voluntatem accommodandum, et prudentis, et liberalis, et, ut perspexisse videor, nec a me alieni, et tibi amicissimi. Quod cum ita sit, magnae est tamen deliberationis, quae ratio sit ineunda nobis, non agendi aliquid, sed illius concessu et beneficio quiescendi. Vale.

EPIS.

EPISTOLA XIX.

SER. SULPICIUS M. CICERONI S.D.

ETSI ¹ scio non jucundissimum nuntium me vobis allaturum; tamen quoniam casus et natura in nobis dominatur, visum est faciendum, quoquo modo res se haberet, vos certiores facere. A. d. x kalendas Junii cum ab ² Epidauro Piraeum navi advectus essem, ibi Marcellum, collegam nostrum, conveni; eumque diem ibi consumsi, ut cum eo essem. Postero die cum ab eo digressus essem, eo consilio ut ab Athenis in Boeotiam irem, reliquamque jurisdictionem absolverem; ille, uti ajebat, supra ³ Maleas in Italiam versus navigaturus erat. Postridie ejus diei, cum ab Athenis proficisci in animo haberem, circiter hora ⁴ decima noctis P. Postumius, familiaris ejus, ad me venit, et mihi nuntiavit, M. Marcellum, collegam nostrum, post caenae tempus, a P. ⁵ Magio Cilone, familiari ejus, pugione percussum esse, et duo vulnera accepisse, unum in stomacho, alterum in capite secundum aurem: sperare tamen eum vivere posse. Magium seipsum interfecisse: postea se a Marcello ad me missum esse, qui haec nuntiaret et rogaret, uti cogerem medicos. Coegi, et e vestigio eo sum profectus prima luce. Cum non longe a Piraeo

abessem,

abessem, puer Acidini obviam mihi venit cum⁶ codicillis, in quibus erat scriptum, paullo ante lucem Marcellum diem suum obiisse. Ita vir clarissimus ab homine deterrimo acerbissima morte est affectus: et cui inimici propter dignitatem pepercerant, inventus est amicus, qui ei mortem afferret. Ego tamen ad tabernaculum ejus perrexī. Inveni duos libertos, et pauculos servos. Reliquos ajebant profugisse, metu⁷ perterritos, quod dominus eorum ante tabernaculum interfectus esset. Coactus sum in eadem illa lectica, qua ipse delatus eram, meisque lecticariis in urbem eum referre: ibique pro ea copia, quae Athenis erat, funus ei satis amplum faciendum curavi. Ab Atheniensibus locum sepulturae⁸ intra urbem ut darent, impetrare non potui, quod religione se impediri dicerent: neque tamen id antea cuiquam concesserant. Quod proximum fuit, uti in quo vellemus eum gymnasio sepeli-remus, nobis permiserunt. Nos in nobilissimo orbis terrarum gymnasio Academiae, locum delegimus, ibique eum combussimus: posteaque curavimus, ut iidem Athenienses in eodem loco monumentum ei marmoreum faciendum locarent. Ita, quae nostra officia fuerunt, pro collegio et propinquitate, et vivo et mortuo omnia ei praestitimus. Vale. D. pr kal. Jun. Athenis.

E P I S-

EPISTOLA XX.

M.T.C. PROCOS. M. MARCELLO
COS. S.P.D.

TE¹ et pietatis in tuos, et animi in rempublicam, et clarissimi atque optimi consulatus, C. Marcello consule facto, fructum cepisse, vehementer gaudeo. Non dubito, quid praesentes sentiant: nos quidem longinqui, et a te ipso missi in ultimas gentes, ad coelum mehercule te tollimus verissimis ac justissimis laudibus. Nam, cum te a pueritia tua unice dilexerim, tuque me in omni genere semper amplissimum esse et volueris et judicaris: tum hoc vel tuo facto, vel populi Romani de te iudicio, multo acrius vehementiusque diligo: maximaque laetitia afficior, cum ab hominibus prudentissimis, virisque optimis, omnibus dictis, factis, studiis, institutis, vel me tui similem esse audio, vel te mei. Unum vero si addis ad praeclarissimas res consulatus tui, ut aut mihi succedat quamprimum aliquis, aut ne quid accedat temporis ad id, quod tu mihi et senatusconsulto et lege² finisti, omnia me per te consecutum putabo. Cura ut valeas, et me absentem diligas, atque defendas. Quae mihi de Parthis nuntiata sunt, quia non putabam a me etiam nunc scribenda

esse publice, propterea ne pro familiaritate quidem nostra volui ad te scribere: ne, cum ad consulem scripisssem, publice viderer scripisse.

EPISTOLA XXI.

M.T.C. M. MARCELLO S.D.

X
ETSI¹ eo te adhuc consilio usum intelligo, ut id reprehendere non audeam, non quin ab eo ipse dissentiam, sed quod ea te sapientia esse judicem, ut meum consilium non antepo-
nam tuo: tamen et amicitiae nostrae vetustas, et tua summa erga me benevolentia, quae mihi jam a pueritia tua cognita est, me hortata est, ut ea scriberem ad te, quae et saluti tuae conducere arbitrarer, et non aliena esse ducerem a dignitate. Ego eum te esse, qui horum malorum initia multo ante videris, consulatum magnificentissime atque optime gesseris, praeclare memini: sed idem etiam illa vidi, neque te consilium civilis belli ita gerendi, neque copias Cn. Pompeii, nec genus exercitus probare, semperque summe diffidere. Qua in sententia me quoque fuisse, memoria tenere te arbitror. Itaque neque tu multum interfuisti rebus gerendis: et ego id semper egi, ne interesssem. Non enim iis rebus pugnabamus, quibus valere poteramus, consilio, auctoritate, causa, quae erant in nobis superiora: sed
lacertis

lacertis et viribus, quibus pares non eramus. Victi sumus igitur : aut, si vinci dignitas non potest, fracti certe et abjecti. In quo tuum consilium nemo potest non maxime laudare, quod cum spe vincendi simul abjecisti certandi etiam cupiditatem : ostendistique, sapientem et bonum civem initia belli civilis invitum suscipere, extrema libenter non persequi. Qui non idem consilium, quod tu, secuti sunt, eos video in duo genera esse distractos. Aut enim renovare bellum conati sunt ii, ² qui se in Africam contulerunt : aut, quemadmodum nos, victori sese crediderunt. Medium quoddam tuum consilium fuit, qui hoc fortasse humilis animi duceres ; illud pertinacis. Fateor, a plerisque, vel dicam ab omnibus, sapiens tuum consilium ; a multis, etiam magni ac fortis animi iudicatum. Sed habet ista ratio, ut mihi quidem videtur, quendam modum : praesertim cum tibi nihil deesse arbitrer ad tuas fortunas omnes obtinendas, praeter voluntatem. Sic enim intellexi, nihil aliud esse, quod dubitationem afferret ei, penes quem est potestas, nisi quod vereretur, ne tu illud beneficium omnino non putares. De quo quid sentiam, nihil attinet dicere : cum appareat ipse quid fecerim. Sed tamen si jam ita constituisses, ut abesse perpetuo mallets, quam ea, quae nolles, vi-

dere : tamen id cogitare deberes, ubicunque es-
ses, te fore in ejus ipsius, quem fugeres, potesta-
te : qui si facile passurus esset, te carentem pa-
tria et fortunis tuis, quiete et libere vivere : co-
gitandum tibi tamen esset, Romaene et domi
tuae, cujusmodi res esset, an Mytilenis aut Rho-
di malles vivere. Sed cum ita late pateat ejus po-
testas, quem veremur, ut terrarum orbem com-
plexa sit : nonne mavis sine periculo domi tuae
esse, quam cum periculo alienae ? Equidem, eti-
amsi oppetenda mors esset, domi atque in pa-
tria mallet, quam in externis atque alienis lo-
cis. Hoc idem omnes, qui te diligunt, sentiunt :
quorum est magna, pro tuis maximis clarissi-
misque virtutibus, multitudo. Habemus etiam
rationem rei familiaris tuae, quam dissipari no-
lumus. Nam etsi nullam potest accipere inju-
riam, quae futura perpetua sit : propterea quod
neque is, qui tenet rempublicam, patietur, neque
ipsa respublica : tamen impetum praedonum in
tuas fortunas fieri nolo. Hi autem qui essent, au-
derem scribere, nisi te intelligere confiderem.
Hic te unius sollicitudines, unius etiam multae
et assiduae lacrymae C. Marcelli, fratris optimi,
deprecantur : nos cura et dolore proximi su-
mus : precibus tardiores, quod jus adeundi, cum
ipsi deprecatione eguerimus, non habemus. Gra-
tia

tia tantum possumus, quantum victi. Sed tamen consilio, studio, Marcello non defumus. A tuis reliquis non adhibemur : ad omnia parati sumus. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXII.

M.T.C. M. MARCELLO S.D.

NEQVE ¹ monere te audeo praestanti prudentia virum ; nec confirmare, maximi animi hominem unumque fortissimum ; consolari vero nullo modo. Nam si ea, quae acciderunt, ita fers ut audio ; gratulari magis virtuti debeo, quam consolari dolorem tuum. Sin te tanta mala reipublicae frangunt, non ita abundo ingenio, ut te consoler, cum ipse me non possim. Reliquum est igitur, ut tibi me in omni re eum praebeam praestemque, ut ad omnia, quae tui velint, ita adsim praesto, ut me non solum omnia debere tua causa, quae possum, sed ea quoque quae non possum, ² putent. Illud tamen vel tu me monuisse, vel censuisse puta, vel propter benevolentiam tacere non potuisse : ut quod ego facio, tu quoque animum inducas : si sit aliqua respublica, in ea te esse oportere, iudicio hominum reque principem, necessitate cedentem tempori : sin autem nulla sit, hunc tamen aptissimum esse etiam ad exsulandum locum. Si enim libertatem
sequimur ;

sequimur; qui locus hoc dominatu vacat? *fin* qualemcumque locum; quae est domestica fede jucundior? Sed mihi crede, etiam is, qui omnia tenet, favet ingeniis: nobilitatem vero et dignitates hominum, quantum ei res et ipsius causa concedit, amplectitur. Sed plura, quam statueram. Redeo ergo ad unum illud, me tuum esse; fore cum tuis, si modo³ erunt tui: *fin* minus, me certe in omnibus rebus satis nostrae conjunctioni amorique facturum. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXIII.

M.T.C. M. MARCELLO S.D.

X
ETSI¹ perpaucis ante diebus dederam Q. Mucio literas ad te pluribus verbis scriptas, quibus declaraveram, quo te animo censerem esse oportere, et quid tibi faciendum arbitrarer: tamen cum Theophilus, libertus tuus, proficisceretur, cujus ego fidem erga te benevolentiamque perspexeram, sine meis literis eum ad te venire nolui. Iisdem igitur de rebus etiam atque etiam hortor, quibus superioribus literis hortatus sum, ut in ea republica, quaecunque est, quam primum velis esse. Multa videbis fortasse, quae nolis; non plura tamen, quam audis quotidie. Non est porro tuum uno sensu solum oculorum moveri: cum idem illud auribus percipias,

cipias, quod etiam majus videri solet, minus laborare. At tibi ipsi dicendum erit aliquid, quod non sentias; aut faciendum, quod non probes. Primum tempori cedere, id est, necessitati parere, semper sapientis est habitum. Deinde non habet, ut nunc quidem est, id vitii res. Dicere fortasse, quae sentias, non licet: tacere plane licet. Omnia enim delata ad unum sunt. Is utitur consilio, ne suorum quidem, sed suo. Quod non multo secus fieret, si is ² rempublicam teneret, quem secuti sumus. An qui in bello, cum omnium nostrum conjunctum esse periculum suo cerneret, certorum hominum minime prudentium consilio uteretur, eum magis ³ communem censemus in victoria futurum fuisse, quam incertis rebus fuisset? et qui nec te consule tuum sapientissimum consilium secutus esset, nec fratre tuo consulatum ex auctoritate tua gerente, vobis auctoribus uti voluerit, nunc omnia tenentem, nostras sententias desideraturum censes fuisse? omnia sunt misera in bellis civilibus. Quae majores nostri ne semel quidem, nostra aetas saepe jam sensit. Sed miseriùs nihil, quam ipsa victoria: quae etiamsi ad meliores venit, tamen eos ipsos ferociore, ⁴ impotentioresque reddit: ut etiamsi natura tales non sint, necessitate esse cogantur. Multa enim victori eorum arbitrio per

per quos vicit, etiam invito facienda sunt. An tu non videbas mecum simul, quam illa crudelis esset futura victoria? igitur tunc quoque patria careres, ne, quae nolles, videres? Non, inquires. Ego enim ipse tenerem opes et dignitatem meam. At erat tuae virtutis, in minimis tuas res ponere, de republica vehementius laborare. Deinde, qui finis istius consilii est? nam adhuc et factum tuum probatur, et, ut in tali re, etiam fortuna laudatur: factum, quod et initium belli necessario secutus sis, et extrema sapienter persequi nolueris: fortuna, quod honesto otio tenueris et statum, et famam dignitatis tuae. Nunc vero nec locus tibi ullus dulcior esse debet patria: nec eam diligere minus debes, quod deformior est, sed misereri potius, nec eam multis claris viris orbatam, privare etiam adspectu tuo. Denique, si fuit magni animi non isse supplicem victori: vide ne superbi sit, aspernari ejusdem liberalitatem: et, si sapientis est carere patria, duri non desiderare: et, si re publica non possis frui, stultum est nolle privata. Caput est illud, ut, si ista vita tibi commodior esse videatur, cogitandum tamen sit, ne tutior non sit. Magna gladiatorum est licentia: sed in externis locis minor etiam ad facinus verecundia. Mihi salus tua tantae curae est, ut Marcello fratri tuo
aut

aut par, aut certe proximus sim. Tuum est consulere temporibus, et incolumitati, et vitae, et fortunis tuis. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXIV.

M. MARCELLUS M. CICERONI S.D.

PLURIMUM valuisse apud me tuam semper auctoritatem, cum in omni re, tum in hoc maxime negotio potes existimare. Cum mihi C. Marcellus, frater amantissimus mei, non solum consilium daret, sed precibus quoque me obsecraret; non prius mihi persuadere potuit, quam tuis est effectum literis, ut uterer vestro potissimum consilio. Res quemadmodum sit acta, vestrae literae mihi declarant. Gratulatio tua etsi est mihi probatissima, quod ab optimo fit animo; tamen hoc mihi multo jucundius est, et gratius, quod in summa paucitate amicorum, propinquorum, ac necessariorum, qui vere meae saluti faverent, te cupidissimum mei, singularemque mihi benevolentiam praestitisse cognovi. Reliqua sunt ejusmodi, quibus ego, quoniam haec erant tempora, facile et aequo animo carebam. Hoc vero ejusmodi esse statuo, ut sine talium virorum et amicorum benevolentia, neque in adversa, neque in secunda fortuna quisquam vivere possit. Itaque in hoc ego mihi gratulor.

Tu

Tu vero ut intelligas, homini amicissimo te tribuisse officium, re tibi praestabo. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXV.

M.T.C. M. MARCELLO S.D.

ETSI¹ nihil erat novi, quod ad te scriberem, magisque literas tuas jam expectare incipiebam, vel te potius ipsum: tamen cum Theophilus proficisceretur, non potui nihil ei literarum dare. Cura igitur, ut quam primum venias. Venies enim, mihi crede, expectatus, neque solum nobis, id est, tuis, sed prorsus omnibus. Venit enim mihi in mentem, subvereri interdum, ne te delectet tarda decessio. Quod si nullum haberes sensum nisi oculorum, prorsus tibi ignoscerem, si quosdam nolles videre. Sed cum leviora non multo essent, quae audirentur, quam quae viderentur; suspicarer autem multum interesse rei familiaris tuae, te quam primum venire; idque in omnes partes valeret; putavi ea de re te esse admonendum. Sed quoniam, quod mihi placeret, ostendi, reliqua tu pro tua prudentia considerabis. Me tamen velim, quod ad tempus te expectemus, certiores facias. Vale.

EPIS-

EPISTOLA XXVI.

M.T.C. P. NIGIDIO FIGULO S.D.

QUAERENTI¹ mihi jamdiu quid ad te potissimum scriberem, non modo certares nulla, sed ne genus quidem literarum usitatum veniebat in mentem. Unam enim partem et consuetudinem earum epistolarum, quibus secundis rebus uti solebamus, tempus eripuerat: perfeceratque fortuna, ne quid tale scribere possem, aut omnino cogitare. Relinquebatur triste quoddam, et miserum, et his temporibus consentaneum genus literarum. Id quoque deficiebat me: in quo debebat esse aut promissio auxilii alicujus, aut consolatio doloris tui. Quod pollicerer, non erat. Ipse enim pari fortuna abjectus, aliorum opibus casus meos sustentabam; saepiusque mihi veniebat in mentem queri, quod ita viverem, quam gaudere, quod viverem. Quamquam enim nulla meipsum privatim pepulit insignis injuria: nec mihi quidquam tali tempore in mentem venit optare, quod non ultro mihi Caesar detulerit: tamen nihilominus eis conficior curis, ut hoc ipsum quod maneam in vita, peccare me existimem. Careo enim cum familiarissimis multis, quos aut mors eripuit nobis, aut distraxit fuga: tum omnibus amicis quorum benevolentiam nobis conciliarat per me quondam, te
focio,

² socio, defensa respublica, verforque in eorum naufragiis et bonorum direptionibus : nec audio solum, quod ipsum esset miserum, sed etiam video, quo nihil est acerbius, eorum fortunas dissipari, quibus nos olim adiutoribus illud incendium exstinximus : et in qua urbe modo gratia, auctoritate, gloria floruimus, in ea nunc iis quidem omnibus caremus. Obtinemus ipsius Caesaris summam erga nos humanitatem. Sed ea plus non potest, quam vis et mutatio omnium rerum atque temporum. Itaque orbus iis rebus omnibus, quibus et natura me, et voluntas, et consuetudo assuefecerat cum caeteris, ut quidem videor, tum mihi ipse displiceo. Natus enim ad agendum semper aliquid dignum viro, nunc non modo agendi rationem nullam habeo, sed ne cogitandi quidem : et qui antea aut obscuris hominibus, aut etiam fontibus opitulari poteram, nunc P. Nigidio, uni omnium doctissimo et sanctissimo, et maxima quondam gratia, et mihi certe amicissimo, ne benigne quidem polliceri possum. Ergo hoc ereptum est literarum genus. Reliquum est, ut consoletur, et afferam rationes, quibus te a molestiis coner abducere. At ea quidem facultas vel tui, vel alterius consolandi, in te summa est, si unquam in ullo fuit. Itaque eam partem, quae ab exquisita quadam ratione et doctrina proficiscitur, non attingam, tibi totam relinquam.

quam. Quid sit forti et sapienti homine dignum, quid gravitas, quid altitudo animi, quid acta tua vita, quid studia, quid artes, quibus a pueritia floruisti, a te flagitent, tu videbis. Ego quod intelligere et sentire possum, quia sum Romae, et quia curo attendoque, id tibi affirmo, te in istis molestiis, in quibus es hoc tempore, non³ diutius futurum : in iis autem, in quibus etiam nos sumus, fortasse semper fore. Videor mihi perspicere primum ipsius animum, qui plurimum potest, propensum ad salutem tuam. Non scribo hoc temere. Quo minus familiaris sum, hoc sum ad investigandum curiosior. Quo facilius, quibus est iratior, respondere tristius possit, hoc est adhuc tardior ad te molestia liberandum. Familiares vero ejus, et ii quidem, qui illi jucundissimi sunt, mirabiliter de te et loquuntur, et sentiunt. Accedit eodem vulgi voluntas, vel potius consensus omnium. Etiam illa, quae minimum nunc quidem potest, sed possit necesse est, res publica, quascunque vires habebit, ab iis ipsis quibus tenetur, de te propediem, mihi crede, impetrabit. Redeo igitur ad id, ut jam tibi etiam pollicear aliquid, quod primo omiseram : nam et complectar ejus familiarissimos, qui me admodum diligunt, multumque mecum sunt, et in ipsius consuetudinem, quam adhuc meus pudor mihi clausit, insinuabo : et certe omnes vias persequar,

sequar, quibus putabo ad id, quod volumus, pervenire posse. In hoc toto genere plura faciam, quam scribere audeo. Caetera, quae tibi a multis prompta esse certo scio, a me sunt paratissima. Nihil in re familiari mea est, quod ego meum malim esse, quam tuum. Hac de re, et de hoc genere toto, hoc scribo parcius, quod te, id quod ipse confido, sperare malo esse usurum tuis. Extremum illud est, ut te orem et obsecrem, animo ut maximo sis: nec ea solum memineris, quae ab aliis magnis viris accepisti, sed illa etiam, quae ipse ingenio studioque peperisti. Quae si colliges, et sperabis omnia optime, et quae accident, qualiacunque erunt, sapienter feres. Sed haec tu melius, vel optime omnium. Ego, quae pertinere ad te intelligam, studiosissime omnia, diligentissimeque curabo: tuorumque tristissimo meo tempore meritorum erga me memoriam conservabo. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXVII.

M.T.C. CN. PLANCIO S.D.

BINAS¹ a te accepi literas Corcyrae datas: quarum alteris mihi gratulabare, quod audisses me meam pristinam dignitatem obtinere; alteris dicebas te velle, quae² egissem, bene et feliciter evenire. Ego autem, si dignitas est bene de republica sentire, et bonis viris probare quod sentias,

sentias, obtineo dignitatem meam. Sin autem in eo dignitas est, si, quod sentias, aut re efficere possis, aut denique libera oratione defendere, ne vestigium quidem ullum est reliquum nobis dignitatis: agiturque praeclare, si nosmetipsos regere possimus, ut ea quae partim jam adsunt, partim impendent, moderate feramus: quod est difficile in ejusmodi ³ bello, cujus exitus ex altera parte caedem ostendat, ex altera servitutem. Quo in periculo nonnihil me consolatur, cum recorder, haec ⁴ me tum vidisse, cum secundas etiam res nostras, non modo adversas, pertimescebam: videbamque, quanto periculo de jure publico disceptaretur armis. Quibus si vicissent ii, ad quos ego pacis spe, non belli cupiditate adductus accesseram, tamen intelligebam, et iratorum hominum, et cupidorum, et insolentium, quam crudelis esset futura victoria: sin autem victi essent, quantus interitus esset futurus civium, partim amplissimorum, partim etiam optimorum, qui me haec praedicentem, atque optime consulentem salutis suae, malebant nimium timidum, quam satis prudentem existimari. Quod autem mihi de eo, quod egerim, gratularis: te ita velle certe scio: sed ego tam misero tempore nihil novi consilii cepissem, nisi in reditu meo nihilo meliores res ⁵ domesticas, quam rempublicam offendissem. Quibus enim, pro meis immortalibus beneficiis,

carissima mea salus et meae fortunae esse debebant: cum propter eorum scelus nihil mihi intra meos parietes tutum, nihil insidiis vacuum viderem, novarum me necessitudinum fidelitate contra veterum perfidiam muniendum putavi. Sed de nostris rebus satis, etiam nimium multa. De tuis velim, ut eo sis animo, quo debes esse, id est, ut ne quid tibi praecipue timendum putes. Si enim status erit aliquis civitatis, quicumque erit, te omnium periculorum video expertem fore. Nam ⁶ alteros tibi jam placatos esse intelligo, alteros nunquam iratos fuisse. De mea autem in te voluntate sic velim iudices, me, quibuscunque rebus opus esse intelligam, quanquam videam qui sim hoc tempore et quid possim; opera tamen, et consilio, studio quidem certe, rei, famae, saluti tuae praesto futurum. Tu velim, et quid agas, et quid acturum te putes, facias me quam diligentissime certiolem. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXVIII.

M.T.C. CN. PLANCIO S.D.

ACCEPI ¹ perbreves tuas literas, quibus id, quod scire cupiebam, cognoscere non potui: cognovi autem id, quod mihi dubium non fuit. Nam quam fortiter ferres communes miseras, non intellexi; quam me amares facile perspexi: sed hoc scieram. Illud si scissem, ad id
meas

meas literas accommodavisssem. Sed tamen etsi antea scripsi, quae existimavi scribi oportere, tamen hoc tempore breviter commonendum putavi, ne quo periculo te proprio existimares esse: in magno omnes, sed tamen in communi, sumus. Quare non debes aut propriam fortunam et praecipuam postulare, aut communem recusare. Quapropter eo animo simus inter nos, quo semper fuimus. Quod de te sperare, de me praestare possum. Vale.





MARCI
TULLII CICERONIS
EPISTOLARUM
AD FAMILIARES
LIBER V.

EPISTOLA I.

Q. METELLUS, Q. F. CELER. PROCOS.
M. T. CICERONI S. D.

SI vales, bene est. Existimaram pro mutuo
inter nos animo, et pro reconciliata gratia, ne-
que me absentem ludibrio laesum iri, nec Metel-
lum fratrem ob dictum, capite ac fortunis per te
oppugnatum iri. Quem si parum pudor ipsius de-
fendebat, debebat vel familiae nostrae ² dignitas,
vel

vel meum studium erga vos remque publicam, fatis sublevare. Nunc video illum circumventum, me desertum, a quibus minime conveniebat. Itaque in luctu et squalore sum, qui provinciae, ³ qui exercitui praesum, qui bellum gero. Quae quoniam nec ratione, nec majorum nostrum ⁴ clementia administrastis, non erit mirandum, si vos poenitebit. Te tam mobili in me meosque esse animo non sperabam. Me interea nec domesticus dolor, nec cujusquam injuria à republica abducat. Vale.

EPISTOLA II.

M.T.C.F.C. Q. METELLO Q.F. CELE-
RI PROCOS. S.D.

SI tu ¹ exercitusque valetis, bene est. Scribis ad me te existimasse, pro mutuo inter nos animo et pro reconciliata gratia, nunquam te a me ludibrio laesum iri. Quod cujusmodi sit, fatis intelligere non possum: sed tamen suspicor ad te esse allatum, me, in senatu cum disputarem, permultos esse, qui rempublicam a me conservatam dolerent, dixisse: a te propinquos tuos, quibus negare non potuisses, impetrasse, ut ea, quae statuisses tibi in senatu de mea laude esse dicenda, reticeres. Quod cum dicerem, illud adjunxi, mihi tecum ita dispertitum officium fuisse in rei-
publicae

publicae salute retinenda, ut ego urbem a domesticis insidiis et ab intestino scelere, tu Italiam et ab armatis hostibus, et ab occulta conjuratione defenderes: atque hanc nostram tanti et tam praeclari muneris societatem, a tuis propinquis labefactatam: qui, cum tu a me rebus amplissimis atque honorificentissimis ornatus esses, timuissent, ne qua mihi pars abs te voluntatis mutuae tribueretur. Hoc in sermone, cum a me exponeretur, quae mea expectatio fuisset orationis tuae, quantoque in errore versatus essem; visa est oratio non injucunda, et mediocris quidam est risus consecutus, non in te, sed magis in errorem meum; et quod me abs te cupisse laudari, aperte atque ingenue confitebar. Jam hoc non potest in te non honorifice esse dictum, me, in clarissimis meis atque amplissimis rebus, tamen aliquod testimonium tuae vocis habere voluisse. Quod autem ita scribis, pro mutuo inter nos animo, quid tu existimes esse in amicitia mutuum, nescio: equidem hoc arbitror, cum par voluntas accipitur, et redditur. Ego si hoc dicam, me tua causa praetermisisse² provinciam, tibi ipse levior videar esse: meae enim rationes ita tulerunt, atque ejus mei consilii majorem in dies singulos fructum voluptatemque capio. Illud dico, me, ut primum in concione provinciam deposuerim,

posuerim, statim, quemadmodum eam tibi traderem, cogitare coepisse. Nihil dico de sortitione vestra; tantum te suspicari volo, nihil in ea re per collegam meum, me insciente, esse factum. Recordare caetera: quam cito senatum illo die, facta sortitione, coegerim, quam multa de te verba fecerim, cum tu ipse mihi dixisti, orationem meam non solum in te honorificam, sed etiam in collegas tuos contumeliosam fuisse. Jam illud S. C. quod eo die factum est, ea³ praescriptione est, ut, dum id exstabit, officium meum in te obscurum esse non possit. Postea vero quam profectus es, velim recordere, quae ego de te in senatu egerim, quae in concionibus dixerim, quas ad te literas miserim. Quae cum omnia collegeris, tu ipse velim iudices, satisne videatur his omnibus rebus tuus adventus, cum proxime Romam venisti, mutue respondisse. Quod scribis de reconciliata nostra gratia; non intelligo, cur reconciliatam esse dicas, quae nunquam immutata est. Quod scribis non oportuisse Metellum fratrem tuum ob dictum a me oppugnari: primum hoc velim existimes, animum mihi istum tuum vehementer probari, et fraternam plenam humanitatis ac pietatis voluntatem: deinde, si quā ego in re fratri tuo, reipublicae causa, restiterim, ut mihi ignoscas. Tam enim sum amicus rei-

publicae,

publicae, quam qui maxime. Si vero meam salutem contra illius impetum in me crudelissimum defenderim, fatis habeas, nihil me etiam tecum de tui fratris injuria conqueri. Quem ego cum comperissem, omnem sui tribunatus conatum in meam perniciem parare atque meditari, egi cum ⁴ Claudia, uxore tua, et cum vestra sorore Mucia, cujus erga me studium pro Cn. Pompeii necessitudine multis in rebus perspexeram, ut eum ab illa injuria deterrent. Atque ille, quod te audisse certo scio, pridie kalendas Januarias, qua injuria nemo unquam in aliquo magistratu improbissimus civis affectus est, ea me consullem affecit, cum rempublicam conservassem, atque abeuntem magistratu concionis habendae ⁵ potestate privavit: cujus injuria mihi tamen honori summo fuit. Nam cum ille mihi nihil, nisi ut jurarem, permetteret, magna voce juravi verissimum pulcherrimumque jusjurandum: quod populus idem magna voce me vere jurasse, juravit. Hac accepta tam insigni injuria, tamen illo ipso die mihi ad Metellum communes amicos, qui agerent cum eo, ut de illa mente desisteret: quibus ille respondit, sibi non esse integrum. Etenim paulo ante in concione dixerat, ei, qui in alios animadvertisset indicta causa, dicendi ipsi potestatem fieri non oportere. Hominem gravem,

vem, et civem egregium! qui, qua poena senatus, consensu bonorum omnium, eos affecerat, qui urbem incendere, magistratus ac senatum trucidare, bellum maximum conflare voluissent, eadem dignum judicaret eum, qui curiam caede, urbem incendiis, Italiam bello liberaisset. Itaque ego Metello, fratri tuo, praesenti, restiti. Nam in senatu kalendis Januariis sic cum eo ⁶ de republica disputavi, ut sentiret sibi cum viro forti et constanti esse pugnandum. A.d. tertium non. Januar. cum agere coepisset, tertio quoque verbo orationis suae me appellabat, mihi minabatur: neque illi quidquam deliberatius fuit, quam me, quacunque ratione posset, non iudicio, neque disceptatione, sed vi atque impressione evertere. Hujus ego temeritati si virtute atque animo non restitisssem, quis esset, qui me in consulatu non casu potius existimaret, quam consilio, fortem fuisse? Haec si tu Metellum cogitare de me nescisti, debes existimare te maximis de rebus a fratre esse celatum: sin autem aliquid impertivit tibi sui consilii, lenis a te et facilis existimari debeo, qui nihil tecum de his ipsis rebus expostulem. Et, si intelligis, non me dicto Metelli, ut scribis, sed consilio ejus animoque in me inimicissimo esse commotum; cognosce nunc humanitatem meam, si humanitas appellanda

appellanda est in acerbissima injuria remissio animi ac dissolutio. Nulla est a me unquam sententia dicta in fratrem tuum; quotiescunque aliquid est actum, sedens iis assensi, qui mihi lenissime sentire visi sunt. Addam illud etiam, quod jam ego curare non debui, sed tamen fieri non moleste tuli, atque etiam, ut ita fieret, pro mea parte adjuvi, ut ⁷ senatusconsulto meus inimicus, quia tuus frater erat, sublevaretur. Quare non ego oppugnavi fratrem tuum, sed fratri tuo repugnavi: nec in te, ut scribis, animo fui mobili, sed ita stabili, ut in mea erga te voluntate, etiam desertus ab officiis tuis, permanerem. Atque hoc ipso tempore tibi paene minitanti nobis per literas, hoc rescribo atque respondeo: ego dolori tuo non solum ignosco, sed summam etiam laudem tribuo. Meus enim me sensus, quanta vis fraterni sit amoris, admonet. A te peto, ut tu quoque aequum te judicem dolori meo praebeas: si acerbe, si crudeliter, si sine causa sum a tuis oppugnatus, ut statuas, mihi non modo non cedendum, sed etiam tuo atque exercitus tui auxilio in ejusmodi causa utendum fuisse. Ego te mihi semper amicum esse volui: me ut tibi amicissimum esse intelligeres, laboravi. Maneo in voluntate, et, quoad voles tu, permanebo, citiusque amore tui fratrem tuum odisse definam, quam
illius

illius odio quidquam de nostra benevolentia detraham. Vale.

EPISTOLA III.

M.C. Q. METELLO NEPOTI COS. S.D.

LITERAE ¹ Q. fratris, et T. Pomponii, necessarii mei tantum spei dederant, ut in te non minus auxilii, quam in tuo collega mihi constitutum fuerit. Itaque ad te literas statim misi : per quas, ut fortuna postulabat, et gratias tibi egi, et de reliquo tempore auxilium petii. Postea mihi non tam meorum literae, quam sermones eorum, qui hac iter faciebant, animum tuum immutatum significabant : quae res fecit, ut tibi literis ² obstrepere non auderem. Nunc mihi Quintus frater meus mitissimam ³ tuam orationem, quam in senatu habuisses, perscripsit : qua inductus, ad te scribere sum conatus, et abs te, quantum tua fert voluntas, peto quaeſoque, ut tuos mecum serves potius, quam propter arrogantem crudelitatem tuorum me oppugnes. Tu tuas inimicitias ut ⁴ reipublicae donares, te vicisti ; alienas ut contra rempublicam confirmes, adducaris? Quod si mihi tua clementia opem tuleris, omnibus in rebus me fore in tua potestate tibi confirmo. Sin mihi neque magistratum, neque senatum, neque populum auxiliari, propter eam
vim

vim, quae me cum republica vicit, licuerit : vide, ne cum velis revocare tempus omnium fervandorum, cum qui fervetur non erit, non possis. Vale.

EPISTOLA IV.

Q. METELLUS NEP. M.T.C. S.D.

HOMINIS ¹ importunissimi contumeliae, quibus crebris concionibus me onerat, tuis erga me officiis leniuntur : et, ut sunt leves ab ejusmodi homine, a me despiciuntur : libenterque, commutata persona, te mihi fratris loco esse duco. De illo ne meminisse quidem volo, tametsi ² bis eum invitum servavi. De meis rebus, ne vobis multitudine literarum molestior essem, ad Lollium perscripsi : de rationibus provinciae, quid vellem fieri, ut is vos doceret et commonefaceret. Si poteris, velim pristinam tuam erga me voluntatem conserves. Vale.

EPISTOLA V.

M.C. C. ANTONIO, M.F. IMPERATORI S.D.

ETSI ¹ statueram nullas ad te literas mittere nisi commendatitias; non quo eas intelligerem satis apud te valere, sed ne iis, qui me rogarent, aliquid de nostra conjunctione imminutum

tum esse ostenderem: tamen, cum T. Pomponius, homo omnium meorum in te studiorum et officiorum maxime conscius, tui cupidus, nostri amantissimus, ad te proficisceretur, aliquid mihi scribendum putavi: praesertim cum aliter ipsi Pomponio satisfacere non possem. Ego si abs te summa officia desiderem, mirum nemini videri debeat. Omnia enim a me in te profecta sunt, quae ad tuum commodum, quae ad honorem, quae ad dignitatem pertinerent. Pro iis rebus nullam mihi abs te relatam esse gratiam, tu es optimus testis. Contra etiam² esse aliquid abs te profectum, ex multis audivi. Nam comperisse me, non audeo dicere, ne forte id ipsum verbum ponam, quod abs te ajunt falso in me solere³ conferri. Sed ea quae ad me delata sunt malo te ex Pomponio, cui non minus molesta fuerunt, quam ex meis literis cognoscere. Meus in te animus quam singulari officio fuerit, et senatus, et populus Romanus testis est. Tu quam gratus erga me fueris, ipse existimare potes: quantum mihi debeas, caeteri existiment. Ego quae tua causa antea feci, voluntate sum adductus posteaque constantia. Sed reliqua, mihi crede, multo majus meum studium majoremque gravitatem et laborem desiderant. Quae⁴ ego si non profunderi ac perdere videbor, omnibus meis viribus sustinebo.

sustinebo: Sin autem ingrata esse sentiam, non committam, ut tibi ipse insanire videar. Ea quae sint et cuiusmodi, poteris ex Pomponio cognoscere. Atque ipsum tibi Pomponium ita commendando, ut quanquam ipsius causa confido te facturum esse omnia, tamen abs te hoc petam, ut, si quid in te residet amoris erga me, id omne in Pomponii negotio ostendas. Hoc mihi nihil gratius facere potes. Vale.

EPISTOLA VI.

M.C. P. SESTIO, L.F. PROQUAESTORI
S.D.

X **C**UM¹ ad me Decius librarius venisset, egissetque mecum, ut operam darem, ne tibi hoc tempore succederetur, quanquam illum hominem frugi et tibi amicum existimabam, tamen, quod memoria tenebam cuiusmodi ad me literas antea misisses, non satis² credidi homini pudenti tam valde esse mutatam voluntatem tuam. Sed postea quam et Cornelia tua Terentiam convenit, et ego cum Q. Cornelio locutus sum; adhibui diligentiam, quotiescunque senatus fuit, ut aessem, plurimumque in eo negotii habui, ut Q. Fufium, tribunum plebis, et caeteros, ad quos tu scripseras, cogerem potius mihi credere, quam tuis literis. Omnino res tota in mensem
Janua-

Januarium rejecta erat, sed facile obtinebatur. Ego tua gratulatione commotus, quod ad me pridem scripseras velle te bene evenire, quod de Crassio ³ domum emissem; emi eam ipsam domum ⁴ xxxv, aliquanto post tuam gratulationem. Itaque nunc me scito tantum habere aeris alieni, ut cupiam conjurare, si quisquam recipiat. Sed partim odio inducti me excludunt, et aperte vindicem conjurationis oderunt; partim non credunt, et a me insidias metutnt: nec putant ei nummos deesse posse, qui ex obsidione ⁵ foeneratores exemerit. Omnino ⁶ semissibus magna copia est. Ego autem meis rebus gestis hoc sum affecutus, ut ⁷ bonum nomen existimer. Domum tuam atque aedificationem omnem perspexi, et vehementer probavi. Antonium, etsi ejus in me officia omnes desiderant, tamen in senatu gravissime ac diligentissime defendi, senatumque vehementer oratione mea atque auctoritate commovi. Tu ad me velim literas crebrius mittas. Vale.

EPISTOLA VII.

M.C. P. SEXTIO P.F. S.D.

NON ¹ oblivione amicitiae nostrae, neque intermissione consuetudinis meae, superioribus temporibus ad te nullas literas misi, sed
L quod

quod priora ² tempora in ruinis reipublicae nostrisque jacuerunt : posteriora autem me a scribendo tuis injustissimis atque acerbissimis incommodis retardarunt. Cum vero et intervallum jam satis longum fuisset, et tuam virtutem animique magnitudinem diligentius essem mecum recordatus, non putavi esse alienum institutis meis haec ad te scribere. Ego te, P. Sexti, et primis temporibus illis, quibus in invidiam ³ absens, et in crimen vocabare, defendi : et cum in tui familiarissimi judicio ac periculo tuum crimen conjungeretur, ut potui, accuratissime te tuamque causam tutatus sum : et proxime, recenti adventu ⁴ meo, cum rem aliter institutam offendifsem, ac mihi placuisset, si affuisset, tamen nulla re salutis tuae defui : cumque eo tempore invidia annonae, inimici non solum tui, verum etiam amicorum tuorum, iniquitas totius judicii, multaue alia reipublicae vitia, plus, quam causa ipsa veritasque, valuissent ; Publio tuo neque opera, neque consilio, neque labore, neque gratia, neque testimonio defui. Quamobrem, omnibus officiis amicitiae diligenter a me sancteque servatis, ne hoc quidem praetermittendum esse duxi, te ut hortarer rogaremque, ut et hominem te et virum esse meminisses, id est, ut communem incertumque casum, quem neque vitare quisquam

quam nostrum, nec praestare ullo pacto potest, sapienter ferres, et dolori fortiter ac fortunae resisteres: cogitareſque, et in nostra civitate, et in caeteris, quae rerum potitae sunt, multis fortissimis atque optimis viris injustis judiciis tales casus incidisse. Illud utinam ne vere scriberem, ea te s⁵ republica carere, in qua neminem prudentem hominem res ulla delectet. De tuo autem filio vereor ne si nihil ad te scripserim, debitum ejus virtuti videar testimonium non cepisse: sin autem omnia quae sentio perscripserim, ne refricem meis literis desiderium ac dolorem tuum. Sed tamen prudentissime facies, si illius pietatem, virtutem, industriam, ubicunque eris, tuam esse, tecum esse duces. Nec enim minus nostra sunt, quae animo complectimur, quam quae oculis intuemur. Quamobrem et illius eximia virtus summusque in te amor magnae tibi consolationi debet esse; et nos caeterique, qui te non ex fortuna, sed ex virtute tua pendimus, semperque pendemus; et maxime animi tui conscientia, cum tibi nihil merito accidisse reputabis: si et illud adjunges, homines sapientes turpitudine, non casu, et delicto suo, non aliorum injuria commoveri. Ego et memoria nostrae veteris amicitiae, et virtute atque observantia filii tui monitus, nullo loco deero, neque ad consolandum, neque

ad levandum fortunam tuam. Tu si quid ad me forte scripseris, perficiam, ne te frustra scripsisse arbitrere.

EPISTOLA VIII.

M.T.M.F. CICERO, CN. POMPEIO CN.F.
MAGNO, IMP. S.D.

S¹ T.E.Q.V.B.E.E.V. Ex literis tuis, quas publice misisti, cepi una cum omnibus incredibilem voluptatem. Tantam enim spem otii ostendisti, quantam ego semper omnibus, te uno fretus, pollicebar. Sed hoc scito, tuos² veteres hostes, novos amicos, vehementer literis perculsos atque ex magna spe deturbatos jacere. Ad me autem literas quas misisti, quamquam exiguum significationem tuae erga me voluntatis habebant, tamen mihi scito jucundas fuisse. Nulla enim re tam laetari soleo, quam meorum³ officiorum conscientia: quibus si quando non mutue respondetur, apud me plus officii residere facillime patior. Illud non dubito, quin si te mea summa erga te studia parum mihi adjunxerint, respublica nos inter nos conciliatura conjuncturaque sit. Ac ne ignores, quid ego in tuis literis desiderarim, scribam aperte, sicut et mea natura, et nostra amicitia postulat. Res eas gessi, quarum aliquam in tuis literis, et nostrae necessitu-

necessitudinis et reipublicae causa, gratulationem exspectavi: quam ego abs te praetermissam esse arbitror, quod vererere, ne cuius animum offenderes. Sed scito ea, quae nos pro salute patriae gessimus, orbis terrae iudicio ac testimonio comprobari. Quae, cum veneris, tanto consilio tantaeque animi magnitudine a me gesta esse cognoscas, ut tibi multo maiori, quam Africanus fuit, me non multo minorem, quam Laelium, facile et in republica et in amicitia adjunctum esse patiari. Vale.

EPISTOLA IX.

M.T.C. M. LICINIO P.F. CRASSO S.D. X

QUANTUM ¹ meum studium exstiterit dignitatis tuae, vel tuendae vel etiam augendae, non dubito quin ad te omnes tui scripserint. Non enim fuit aut mediocre, aut obscurum, aut ejusmodi, quod silentio posset praeteriri. Nam et cum consulibus, et cum multis consularibus tanta contentione decertavi, quanta nunquam antea ulla in causa; suscepique mihi perpetuam propugnationem pro omnibus ornamentis tuis, veterique nostrae necessitudini jamdiu debitum, sed multa ² varietate temporum interruptum officium cumulate reddidi. Neque mehercule unquam mihi tui, aut colendi, aut ornandi voluntas defuit:

defuit: sed quaedam pestes hominum, laude aliena dolentium, et te nonnunquam a me alienarunt, et me aliquando immutarunt tibi. Sed existit tempus optatum mihi magis, quam speratum, ut, florentissimis³ tuis rebus, mea perspici posset et memoria nostrae voluntatis, et amicitiae fides. Sum enim consecutus, non modo ut domus tua tota, sed ut cuncta civitas me tibi amicissimum esse cognosceret. Itaque et praestantissima omnium foeminarum uxor tua, et eximia pietate, virtute, gratia tui Craffi, meis consiliis, monitis, studiis actionibusque nituntur: et senatus populusque Romanus intelligit, tibi absenti nihil esse tam promptum, aut tam paratum, quam in omnibus rebus, quae ad te pertineant, operam, curam, diligentiam, auctoritatem meam. Quae sint acta, quaeque agantur, domesticorum tibi literis declarari puto. De me sic existimes, ac tibi persuadeas vehementer velim, non me repentina aliqua voluntate, aut fortuito ad tuam amplitudinem meis officiis amplectendam incidisse; sed ut primum forum attigerim, spectasse semper, ut tibi possem quam maxime esse conjunctus. Quo quidem⁴ ex tempore, memoria teneo, neque meam tibi observantiam, neque mihi tuam summam benevolentiam ac liberalitatem defuisse. Si quae interciderunt, non tam

re quam suspitione violata; ea cum fuerint et falsa et inania, sint evulsa ex omni memoria vitae nostrae. Is enim tu vir es, et eum me esse cupio, ut quoniam in eadem reipublicae tempora incidimus, conjunctionem amicitiamque nostram utrique nostrum laudi sperem fore. Quamobrem tu quantum tuo iudicio tribuendum esse nobis putes, statues ipse: et, ut spero, statues ex nostra dignitate. Ego vero tibi profiteor atque polliceor eximium et singulare meum studium in omni genere officii, quod ad honestatem et gloriam tuam spectet. In quo etiam si multi mecum contendunt, tamen cum reliquis omnibus, tum Crassis tuis iudicibus, omnes facile superabo: quos quidem ego ambo unice diligo, sed in Marco benevolentia impari. Hoc magis sum Publio deditus, quod me, quanquam a pueritia sua semper, tamen hoc tempore maxime, sicut alterum parentem, et observat et diligit. Has literas velim existimes foederis habituras esse vim, non epistolae, meque ea, quae tibi promitto ac recipio, sanctissime esse observaturum, diligentissimeque esse facturum. Quae a me suscepta defensio est, te absente, dignitatis tuae, in ea iam ego non solum amicitiae nostrae, sed etiam constantiae meae causa permanebo. Quamobrem satis esse hoc tempore arbitratus sum

hoc ad te scribere : me, si quid ipse intelligerem aut ad voluntatem, aut ad commodum, aut ad amplitudinem tuam pertinere, mea sponte id esse facturum : sin autem quippiam aut a te essem admonitus, aut a tuis, effecturum ut intelligeres, nihil neque te scripsisse, neque quenquam tuorum frustra ad me detulisse. Quamobrem velim ita et ipse ad me scribas de omnibus minimis, maximis, mediocribusque rebus, ut ad hominem amicissimum : et tuis praecipias, ut opera, consilio, auctoritate, gratia mea sic utantur in omnibus, publicis, privatis, forensibus, domesticis, tuis, amicorum, hospitum, clientium tuorum negotiis, ut, quoad ejus fieri possit, praesentiae tuae desiderium meo labore minuatur, Vale.

EPISTOLA X.

VATINIUS IMP. CICERONI SUO S.D.

X
S¹ V. B. E. E. V. Si tuam consuetudinem in patrociniis tuendis servas, P. Vatinius² cliens advenit, qui pro se causam dicier vult. Non, puto, repudiabis in honore, quem in periculo recepisti. Ego autem quem potius adoptem, aut invocem, quam illum, quo defendente vincere didici? An verear, ne, qui potentissimorum hominum conspirationem neglexerit pro mea salute,

te, is pro honore meo pusillorum ac malevolorum obrectationes et invidias non prosterнат atque obterat? Quare, si me, sicut soles, amas, suscipe me totum: atque hoc quidquid est oneris ac muneris, pro mea dignitate tibi tuendum ac sustinendum puta. Scis meam fortunam, nescio quomodo, facile obrectatores invenire, non meo quidem mehercule merito: sed quanti id refert, si tamen fato nescio quo accidit? Si qui forte fuerit, qui nostrae dignitati obesse velit, peto a te ut tuam consuetudinem et ² liberalitatem in me absente defendendo mihi praestes. Literas ad senatum de rebus nostris gestis, quo ³ exemplo miseram, infra tibi perscripsi. Dicitur mihi tuus servus ⁴ anagnostes fugitivus cum Vardaeis esse: de quo tu mihi nihil mandasti: ego tamen terra marique ut conquireretur, praemandavi: et profecto tibi illum reperiam, nisi si in Dalmatiam aufugerit; et inde tamen aliquando eruam. Tu nos fac ames. Vale. A. d. v. idus Quintiles, ex castris, ⁵ Narona.

EPISTOLA XI.

M.T.C. P. VATINIO IMPERATORI S.D. X

GRATA ¹ tibi mea esse officia non miror: Cognovi enim te gratissimum omnium: idque nunquam destiti praedicare. Nec enim tu
mihi

mihi habuisti modo gratiam, verum etiam cumulatissime retulisti. Quamobrem reliquis tuis rebus omnibus pari me studio erga te et eadem voluntate cognosces. Quod mihi foeminam primariam, Pompeiam, uxorem tuam commendas: cum Sura nostro statim, tuis literis lectis, locutus sum, ut ei meis verbis diceret, ut, quidquid opus esset, mihi denuntiaret: me omnia, quae ea vellet, summo studio curaue facturum: itaque faciam, eamque, si opus esse videbitur, ipse conveniam. Tu tamen ei velim scribas, ut nullam rem, neque tam magnam, neque tam parvam putet, quae mihi aut difficilis aut parum me digna videatur. Omnia, quae in tuis rebus agam, et non laboriosa mihi et honesta videbuntur. De Dionysio, ² si me amas, confice. Quamcunque ei fidem dederis, praestabo. Si vero improbus fuerit, ut est, duces eum captivum in triumpho. Dalmatis dii male faciant, qui tibi molesti sunt. Sed, ut scribis, brevi capientur, et illustrabunt res tuas gestas: semper enim habiti sunt bellicosi. Vale.

EPISTOLA XII.

P. VATINIUS CICERONI SUO S.D.

S V. B. E. E. Q. V. De Dionysio tuo adhuc nihil extrico: et eo minus, quod me frigus Dalmaticum, quod illinc eiecit, etiam hic refrigeravit. Sed tamen non desistam, quin illum aliquando eruam. Sed tamen omnia mihi dura imperas. De Catilio¹ nescio quid ad me scripsisti deprecationis diligentissimae. Apage te cum nostro Sexto Servilio: nam mehercule ego illum quoque amo. Sed huiusmodi vos clientes, huiusmodi causas recipitis? hominem unum omnium crudelissimum, qui tot ingenuos, matresfamilias, civis Romanus occidit, arripuit, disperdidit, regiones vastavit? Simius, non semissis² homo, contra me arma tulit, et eum bello cepi. Sed tamen, mi Cicero, quid facere possum? Omnia mehercule cupio, quae tu mihi imperas. Meam animadversionem et supplicium, quo usus eram in eum, quem cepissem, remitto tibi et condono. Quid illis respondere possum, qui sua bona direpta, naves expugnatas, fratres, liberos, parentes occisos, actiones³ expostulant? Si mehercule⁴ Appii os haberem, in cuius locum suffectus sum, tamen hoc sustinere non possem. Quid ergo est? Faciam omnia sedulo, quae te sciam

sciam velle. Defenditur a Q. Volusio, tuo discipulo, si forte ea res poterit adversarios fugare; in eo maxima spes est. Nos, si quid erit istic opus, defendes. Caesar adhuc mihi injuriam facit: de meis supplicationibus⁵ et rebus gestis Dalmaticis adhuc non refert: quasi vero non justissimi triumphi in Dalmatia res gesserim. Nam si hoc exspectandum est, dum totum bellum conficiam, viginti oppida sunt Dalmatiae antiqua, quae ipsi sibi asciverunt amplius sexaginta; haec nisi omnia expugno, si mihi supplicationes non decernuntur, longe alia conditione ego sum ac caeteri imperatores.

Ego⁶ post supplicationes mihi decretas in Dalmatiam profectus sum: sex oppida vi oppugnando cepi: unum hoc, quod erat maximum, quater a me jam captum. Quatuor enim turres, et quatuor muros cepi, et arcem eorum totam: ex qua me nives, frigora, imbres detruferunt: indigneque, mi Cicero, oppidum captum et bellum jam confectum relinquere sum coactus. Quare te rogo, si opus erit, ad Caesarem meam causam agas, meque tibi in omnes partes defendendum putes: hoc existimans, neminem te tui amantiorem habere. Vale. D. N. Decembribus, Narona.

EPISTOLA XIII.

M.C. L. LUCCEIO Q.F. S.D. X

CORAM¹ me tecum eadem haec agere saepe conantem deterruit pudor quidam paene subrusticus, quae nunc expromam absens audacius. Epistola enim non erubescit. Ardeo cupiditate incredibili, neque, ut ego arbitror, reprehendenda, nomen ut nostrum scriptis illustretur et celebretur tuis; quod etsi mihi saepe ostendis te esse facturum, tamen ignoscas velim huic festinationi meae. Genus enim scriptorum tuorum etsi erat semper a me vehementer expectatum, tamen vicit opinionem meam, meque ita vel cepit, vel incendit, ut cuperem quam celerime res nostras monumentis commendari tuis. Neque enim me solum commemoratio posteritatis ad spem quandam immortalitatis rapit: sed etiam illa cupiditas, vel ut auctoritate testimonii tui, vel indicio benevolentiae, vel suavitate ingenii, vivi perfruamur. Neque tamen, haec cum scribebam, eram nescius, quantis oneribus premerere susceptarum rerum et jam institutarum: sed quia videbam Italici² belli et civilis historiam jam a te paene esse perfectam, dixeras autem mihi te reliquas res ordiri; deesse mihi nolui; quin te admonerem, ut cogitares conjunctene

junctene malles cum reliquis rebus nostra contexere, an, ut multi Graeci fecerunt, Callisthenes³ Troicum bellum, Timaeus⁴ Pyrrhi, Polybius⁵ Numantinum: qui omnes a perpetuis suis historiis ea, quae dixi, bella separaverunt: tu quoque item civilem conjurationem ab hostilibus externisque bellis sejungeres. Equidem ad nostram laudem non multum video interesse: sed ad properationem meam quiddam interest, non te exspectare dum ad locum venias, ac statim causam illam totam et tempus arripere. Et simul si uno in argumento, unaque in persona mens tua tota versabitur, cerno jam animo, quanto omnia ubetiora atque ornatiora futura sint. Neque tamen ignoro, quam impudenter faciam, qui primum tibi tantum oneris imponam, potest enim mihi denegare occupatio tua, deinde etiam, ut ornes me, postulem. Quid si illa tibi non tantopere videntur ornanda? Sed tamen, qui semel verecundiae fines transierit, eum bene et naviter oportet esse impudentem. Itaque te plane etiam atque etiam rogo, ut et ornes ea vehementius etiam, quam fortasse sentis, et in eo leges⁶ historiae negligas: gratiamque illam, de qua suavissime quodam in prooemio scripsisti, a qua te deflecti non magis potuisse demonstras, quam Herculem⁷ Xenophontium illum a voluptate:

luptate : ea si me tibi vehementius commenda-
bit, ne aspernere : amorique nostro plusculum
etiam, quam concedet veritas, largiare. Quod si
te adducemus, ut hoc suscipias ; erit, ut mihi per-
suadeo, materies digna facultate et copia tua. A
principio enim conjurationis usque ad reditum
nostrum videtur mihi modicum quoddam^s cor-
pus confici posse : in quo et illa poteris uti civi-
lium commutationum scientia, vel in explican-
dis causis rerum novarum, vel in remediis in-
commodorum, cum et reprehendes ea, quae vi-
tuperanda duces, et, quae placebunt, exponendis
rationibus comprobabis ; et si liberior, ut consue-
sti, agendum putabis, multorum in nos perfidi-
am, infidias, prodicionem notabis. Multam
etiam casus nostri tibi varietatem in scribendo
suppeditabunt, plenam cujusdam voluptatis, quae
vehementer animos hominum in legendo⁹ scri-
pto, retinere possit. Nihil est enim aptius ad
delectationem lectoris, quam temporum varie-
tates, fortunaeque vicissitudines : quae etsi nobis
optabiles in experiendo non fuerunt, in legen-
do tamen erunt jucundae. Habet enim prae-
teriti doloris segura recordatio delectationem.
Caeteris vero nulla perfunctis propria molestia,
casus autem alienos sine ullo dolore intuentibus,
etiam ipsa misericordia est jucunda. Quem enim
nostrum

nostrum ille moriens apud Mantineam¹ Epaminondas non cum quadam miseratione delectat? qui tum denique sibi avelli jubet spiculum, postea quam ei percontanti dictum est, clypeum esse salvum: ut, etiam in vulneris dolore, aequo animo cum laude moreretur. Cujus studium in legendo non erectum Themistoclis² fuga redditumque retinetur? Etenim ordo ipse annalium mediocriter nos retinet, quasi enumeratione fastorum. At viri saepe excellentis ancipites variique casus habent admirationem, expectationem, laetitiam, molestiam, spem, timorem. Si vero exitu notabili concluduntur, expletur animus jucundissima lectionis voluptate. Quo mihi acciderit optatius, si in hac sententia fueris, ut a continentibus tuis scriptis, in quibus perpetuam rerum gestarum historiam complecteris, secernas hanc quasi fabulam rerum eventorumque nostrorum. Habet enim varios actus, multasque actiones et consiliorum et temporum. Ac non vereor ne assentatiuncula quadam aucupari tuam gratiam videar, cum hoc demonstrem, me a te potissimum ornari celebrarique velle. Neque enim tu is es, qui, quid sis, nescias; et qui non eos magis, qui te non admirentur, invidos, quam eos qui laudent, assentatores arbitrere. Neque autem ego sum ita demens, ut me sempiternae gloriae

gloriae per eum commendari velim, qui non ipse quoque in me commendando propriam ingenii gloriam consequatur. Neque enim Alexander ille gratiae causa ab Apelle³ potissimum pingi et a Lyfippo fingi volebat: sed quod illorum artem cum ipsis, tum etiam sibi gloriae fore putabat. Atque illi artifices, corporis simulacra ignotis nota faciebant: quae vel si nulla sint, nihilo sint tamen obscuriores clari viri. Nec minus est Spartiates Agesilaus ille perhibendus, qui neque pictam neque fictam imaginem suam passus est esse, quam qui in eo genere laborarunt. Unus enim Xenophontis libellus in eo rege laudando facile omnes imagines omnium, statuasque superavit. Atque hoc praestantius mihi fuerit et ad laetitiam animi et ad memoriae dignitatem, si in tua scripta pervenero quam si in caeterorum, quod non ingenium mihi solum suppeditatum fuerit tuum, sicut Timoleonti a Timaeo, aut ab Herodoto Themistocli, sed etiam auctoritas clarissimi et spectatissimi viri, et in reipublicae maximis gravissimisque causis cogniti, atque in primis probati: ut mihi non solum praeconium, quod cum in Sigaeum venisset Alexander, ab Homero Achilli tributum esse dixit; sed etiam grave testimonium impertitum clari hominis magnique videatur. Placet enim Hector ille mi-

hi Nevianus, qui non tantum laudari se laetatur, sed addit etiam, a laudato viro. Quod si a te non impetro, hoc est, si quae te res impederit, neque enim fas esse arbitror, quidquam me rogantem abs te non impetrare, cogar fortasse facere quod nonnulli saepe reprehendunt : scribam ipse de me : multorum tamen ⁴ exemplo et clarorum virorum. Sed, quod te non fugit, haec sunt in hoc genere vitia. Et verecundius ipsi de sese scribant necesse est, si quid est laudandum ; et praetereant, si quid reprehendendum est. Accedit etiam ut minor sit fides, minor auctoritas : multi denique reprehendant, et dicant, verecundiores esse ⁵ praecones ludorum gymnichorum, qui cum caeteris coronas imposuerint victoribus eorumque nomina magna voce pronuntiarint, cum ipsi ante ludorum missionem corona donentur, alium praeconem adhibeant, ne sua voce ipsi se victores esse praedicent. Haec nos vitare cupimus, et si recipis causam nostram, vitabimus, idque ut facias rogamus. Ac, ne forte mirere, cur, cum mihi saepe ostenderis te accuratissime nostrorum temporum consilia atque eventus literis mandaturum, a te id nunc tanto opere et tam multis verbis petamus : illa nos cupiditas incendit, de qua initio scripsi, festinationis, quod alacres animo sumus : ut et caeteri vi-

ventibus

ventibus nobis ex libris tuis nos cognoscant, et nosmetipsi vivi gloriola nostra perfruamur. His de rebus quid acturus sis, si tibi non est molestum, rescribas mihi velim. Si enim suscipis causam, conficiam commentarios rerum omnium: Sin autem differs me in tempus alium, coram tecum loquar. Tu interea non cessabis, et ea, quae habes instituta, perpolies, nosque diliges. Vale.

EPISTOLA XIV.

M.C. L. LUCCEIO Q.F. S.D.

QUANTUM ipse¹ consolatio literarum tuarum mihi gratissima est: declarat enim summam benevolentiam conjunctam pari prudentia: tamen illum fructum ex iis literis vel maximum cepi, quod te praeclare res humanas contemnentem et optime contra fortunam paratum armatumque cognovi. Quam quidem laudem sapientiae statuo esse maximam, non aliunde pendere, nec extrinsecus aut bene aut male vivendi suspensas habere rationes. Quae cogitatio cum mihi non omnino excidisset, etenim penitus infederat, vi tamen tempestatum et concursu calamitatum erat aliquantum labefactata atque convulsa: cui te opitulari et video, et id fecisse etiam proximis literis, multumque pro-

fecisse sentio. Itaque hoc saepius dicendum, tibi-
bique non significandum solum, sed etiam de-
clarandum arbitror, nihil mihi esse potuisse tuis
litteris gratius. Ad consolandum autem cum illa
valent, quae eleganter copioseque collegisti, tum
nihil plus, quam quod firmitudinem gravitatem-
que animi tui perspexi, quam non imitari tur-
pissimum existimo. Itaque hoc etiam fortio-
rem me puto, quam te ipsum praeceptorem fortitudi-
nis, quod tu mihi videre spem nonnullam ha-
bere, haec aliquando futura meliora. Casus e-
nim ² gladiatorii, similitudinesque eae, tum rati-
ones in ea disputatione a te collectae, vetabant
me reipublicae penitus diffidere. Itaque alterum
minus mirum, fortio-rem te esse, cum aliquid
speres: alterum mirum, spe ulla teneri. Quid
est enim non ita affectum, ut id non deletum
extinctumque esse fateare? Circumspice omnia
membra reipublicae, quae notissima sunt tibi,
nullum reperi-eres profecto, quod non fractum de-
bilitatumve sit. Quae persequeretur, si aut meli-
us ea viderem quam tu vides, aut commemo-
rare possem sine dolore, quanquam tuis monitis
praeceptisque omnis est abjiciendus dolor. Ergo
et domestica feremus, ut censes, et publica pau-
lo etiam fortius fortasse, quam tu ipse qui prae-
cipis. Te enim spes aliqua consolatur, ut scri-
bis:

bis : nos autem erimus etiam in omnium desperatione fortes, ut tu tamen idem et hortaris et praecipis. Das enim mihi jucundas recordationes conscientiae nostrae, rerumque earum quas, te in primis auctore, gessimus. Praestitimus enim patriae non minus certe, quam debuimus : plus profecto quam est ab animo cujusquam aut consilio hominis postulatum. Ignosces mihi de me ipso aliquid praedicanti. Quarum enim tu rerum cogitatione nos levare aegritudine voluisti, earum etiam commemoratione lenimur. Itaque, ut mones, quantum potero me ab omnibus molestiis et angoribus abducam : transferamque animum ad ea quibus secundae res ornantur, adversae adjuvantur : tecumque et ero tantum quantum patietur utriusque aetas et valetudo : et si esse una minus poterimus quam volumus, animorum tamen conjunctione, iisdem studiis ita fruemur, ut nunquam non una esse videamur. Vale.

EPISTOLA XV.

L. LUCCEIUS Q.F. M.T.C. M.F. S.D.

S V.B.E.V. sicut soleo ; paululo tamen etiam deterius quam soleo. Te requisivi saepius ut viderem : Romae quia postea non fuisti quam discesserat miratus sum, quod item nunc miror.

Non habeo certum quae te res hinc maxime retrahat. Si solitudine delectare, cum scribas et aliquid agas eorum, quorum consuesti, gaudeo, neque reprehendo tuum consilium. Nam nihil isto potest esse jucundius, non modo miseris his temporibus et luctuosis, sed etiam tranquillis et optatis; praesertim vel animo defatigato tuo, qui nunc quietem quaerat ex magnis occupationibus, vel erudito, qui semper aliquid ex se promat quod alios delectet, ipsum laudibus illustret. Sin autem, sicut hic dum eras, lacrymis ac tristitiae te tradidisti, doleo, quia doles et angere: nec possum te, si concedis quod sentimus ut liberius dicamus, non accusare. Quid enim? tu solus aperta non videbis qui propter acumen occultissima perspicis? tu non intelliges te querelis quotidianis nihil proficere? non intelliges duplicari sollicitudines, quas elevare tua te prudentia postulat? Quod si non possumus aliquid proficere suadendo, gratia contendimus et rogando, si quid nostra causa vis, ut istis te molestiis laxes, et ad convictum nostrum redeas, et ad² consuetudinem, vel nostram communem, vel tuam solius ac propriam. Cupio³ non obtundere te, si non delectare nostro studio: cupio detertere, ne perman eas in incepto, cum duae res istae contrariae me conturbent: ex quibus aut in altera mihi

mihi velim, si potes, obtemperes, aut in altera non ⁴offendas. Vale.

EPISTOLA XVI.

M. CICERO L. LUCCEIO Q.F.S.

OMNIS ¹amor tuus ex omnibus partibus se ostendit in his literis quas a te proxime accepi: non ille quidem mihi ignotus, sed tamen gratus et optatus. Dicerem, jucundus, nisi id verbum in omne tempus perdidissem. Neque ob eam ²unam causam quam tu suspicaris, et in qua me lenissimis et amantissimis verbis utens, re graviter accusas: sed quod illius tanti vulneris quae remedia esse debebant, ea nulla sunt. Quid enim? ad amicosne confugiam? quam multi sunt? habuimus enim fere communes, quorum alii occiderunt, alii nescio quo pacto obduruerunt. Tecum vivere possem, equidem et maxime vellem: vetustas, amor, consuetudo, studia paria, quod ³vinculum, quae res deest nostrae conjunctioni? Possumusne igitur esse una? nec mehercule intelligo, quid impediat. Sed certe adhuc non fuimus, cum essemus vicini in Tusculano, in Puteolano. Nam quid dicam in urbe? in qua, cum forum commune sit, vicinitas non requiritur. Sed casu nescio quo in ea tempora nostra aetas incidit, ut cum maxime florere nos oporteret,

tum vivere etiam puderet. Quod enim mihi poterat esse perfugium, spoliato et domesticis et forensibus ornamentis atque solatiis? literae, credo, quibus utor assidue. Quid enim aliud facere possum? sed nescio quomodo ipsae illae excludere me a portu et perfugio videntur, et quasi exprobrare, quod in ea vita maneam, in qua nihil insit nisi propagatio miserrimi temporis. Hic tu ea me abesse urbe miraris, in qua domus nihil delectare possit? summum sit odium temporum, hominum, fori, curiae? Itaque sic literis utor, in quibus consumo omne tempus, non ut ab his medicinam perpetuam, sed ut exiguum doloris oblivionem petam. Quod si id egissemus, ego atque tu, quod ne in mentem quidem nobis veniebat propter quotidianos metus, omne tempus una fuisset: neque me valetudo tua offenderet, neque te moeror meus: quod, quantum fieri poterit, consequamur. Quid enim est utrique nostrum aptius? Propediem te igitur videbo. Vale.

EPISTOLA XVII.

M. CICERO T. FADIO S.D.

ETSI¹ egomet, qui te consolari cupio, consolandus ipse sum: propterea quod nullam rem gravius jamdiu tuli, quam incommodum tuum: tamen te magnopere non hortor
solum,

solum, sed etiam, pro amore nostro, rogo atque oro, te colligas, virumque praebeas, et qua conditione omnes homines et quibus temporibus nati simus cogites. Plus tibi virtus tua dedit quam fortuna abstulit: propterea quod adeptus es, quod non multi homines novi: amisisti, quae plurimi homines nobilissimi. Ea denique videtur conditio impendere legum, iudiciorum, temporum, ut optime actum cum eo videatur esse, qui quam levissima poena ab hac republica discesserit. Tu vero, qui et fortunas et liberos habeas, et nos caeterosque necessitudine et benevolentia tecum conjunctissimos, quumque magnam facultatem sis habiturus nobiscum et cum omnibus tuis vendi; et cum unum sit iudicium, ex tam multis, quod reprehendatur, ut quod una sententia, eaque dubia, potentiae alicujus condonatum existimetur: omnibus his de causis debes istam molestiam quam lenissime ferre. Meus animus erit in te liberosque tuos semper, quem tu esse vis, et qui esse debet. Vale.

EPISTOLA XVIII.

CICERO RUFO.

QUO' modo potuissem, te convenissem, si eo quo constitueras venire voluisses. Quare etsi mei commodi causa commovere me nolui,

luisti, tamen ita existimes velim, me antelaturum fuisse, si ad me misisses, voluntatem tuam commodum meo. Ad ea quae scripsisti commodius equidem possem de singulis ad te rebus scribere, si M. Tullius, scriba meus, adesset: a quo mihi exploratum est, in rationibus² duntaxat referendis, de caeteris rebus affirmare non possum, nihil eum fecisse scientem, quod esset contra aut rem aut existimationem tuam. Dein, si rationum referendarum jus vetus et mos antiquus maneret, me relaturum rationes nisi tecum pro conjunctione nostrae necessitudinis contulissem confecissemque, non fuisse. Quod igitur fecissem ad urbem, si consuetudo pristina maneret, id, quum lege Julia relinquere rationes in provincia necesse erat, easdemque totidem verbis referre ad aerarium, feci in provincia. Neque ita feci ut te ad meum arbitrium adducerem: sed tribui tibi tantum quantum me tribuisse nunquam me poenitebit. Totum enim scribam meum, quem tibi video nunc esse suspectum, tibi tradidi. Tu ei M. Mindium, fratrem tuum, adjunxisti. Rationes confectae me absente sunt tecum, ad quas ego nihil adhibui praeter lectionem. Ita accepi librum a meo servo scriba, ut eundem acceperim a fratre tuo. Si honos is fuit, majorem tibi habere non potui: si fides, majorem

maïorem tibi habui quam paene ipſi mihi. Si providendum fuit, ne quid aliter, ac tibi et honeſtum et utile eſſet, referretur : non habui cui potius id negotii darem, quam cui dedi. Illud quidem certe factum eſt, quod lex jubebat, ut apud duas civitates, Laodicenſem et Apameenſem, quae nobis maximae videbantur, quoniam ita neceſſe erat, rationes conſectas et ³ conſolidatas deponeremus. Itaque huic loco primum reſpondeo, me quanquam juſtis de cauſis rationes deferre properarim, tamen te expectaturum fuiſſe, niſi in provincia relictas rationes pro latis haberem. Quamobrem de ⁴ Voluſio quod ſcribis, non eſt ⁵ id rationum. Docuerunt enim me periti homines, in his cum omnium peritiſſimus tum mihi amiciffimus C. Camillus, ad Voluſium transferri nomen a Valerio non potuiſſe : ſed praedes Valerianos teneri : neque id ⁶ erat HS xxx. ut ſcribis, ſed xix. Erat enim nobis curata pecunia Valerii mancipis nomine : ex qua reliquum quod erat in rationibus retuli. Sed ſic me et liberalitatis fruſtu privas et diligentiae, et, quod minime tamen laboro, mediocris etiam prudentiae. Liberalitatis, quod mavis ſcribae mei beneficio quam meo legatum ⁷ meum praefectumque maxima calamitate levatos, cum praefertim non deberent eſſe obligati : diligentiae, quod

quod existimas de tanto officio meo, tanto etiam periculo nec scisse me quidquam nec cogitavisse: scribam, quidquid voluisset, cum id mihi ne recitavisset quidem, retulisse? prudentiae, cum rem a me non insipienter excogitatam, ne cogitatam quidem putes. Nam et ⁸ Volufii liberandi meum fuit consilium; et ut ⁹ multa tam gravis Valerianis praedibus ipsique T. Mario depelleretur, a me inita ratio est: quam quidem omnes non solum probant, sed etiam laudant: et, si verum scire vis, hoc uni scribae meo intellexi non nimium placere. Sed ego putavi esse viri boni, cum populus suum servaret, consulere fortunis tot vel amicorum vel civium. Nam de ¹ Luceio est ita actum ut actore Cn. Pompeio ista pecunia in fano poneretur: id ego agnovi meo jussu esse factum. Qua pecunia Pompeius est usus, ut tua, quam tu deposueras, Sestius. Sed haec ad te nihil intelligo pertinere. Illud me non animadvertisse moleste ferrem, ut adscriberem, te in fano pecuniam jussu meo deposuisse, nisi ista pecunia gravissimis esset certissimisque monumentis testata, cui data, quo senatusconsulto, quibus tuis, quibus meis literis P. Sestio tradita esset. Quae cum viderem tot vestigiis impressa ut in his errari non posset, non adscripsi id, quod tua nihil referebat. Ego tamen adscripsisse mallem,

lem, quum id te video desiderare. Sicut scribis tibi id esse referendum, idem ipse sentio: neque in eo quidquam a meis rationibus discrepabunt tuae. Addes enim tu meo jussu, quod ego quidem non addidi: nec causa est cur negem: nec, si esset, et tu nolles, negarem. Nam de HS nongentis millibus, certe ita relatum est, ut tu siue frater tuus referri voluit. Sed, si quid est quod de legato parum * gavisum est, quod ego in rationibus referendis etiam nunc corrigere possim, de eo mihi, cum senatusconsulto non sum usus, quid per leges liceat considerandum est. Te certe in pecunia exacta ita efferre ex meis rationibus relatis non oportuit, nisi quid me fallit, sunt enim alii peritiores. Illud cave dubites quin ego omnia faciam quae interesse tua aut etiam velle te existimem, si ullo facere modo possum. Quod scribis de² beneficiis, scito a me et tribunos militares, et praefectos, et contubernales duntaxat meos delatos esse. In quo quidem ratio me fefellit. Liberum enim mihi tempus ad eos deferendos existimabam dari. Postea certior sum factus, triginta diebus deferri necesse esse, quibus rationes retulissem. Sane moleste tuli, non illa beneficia tuae potius ambitioni reservata esse quam meae, qui ambitione nihil uterer. De centurionibus tamen et de tribunorum milita-

militarium contubernalibus, res est in integro. Genus enim horum beneficiorum definitum lege non erat. Reliquum est ³ de HS centum milibus, de quibus memini mihi a te Myrina literas esse allatas, non mei errati, sed tui : in quo peccatum videbatur esse, si modo erat, fratris tui et Tullii. Sed cum id corrigi non posset, quod jam depositis rationibus ex provincia decessimus, credo me quidem tibi pro animi mei voluntate, proque ea spe facultatum, quam tum habebamus, quam humanissime potuerim rescripsisse. Sed neque tum me humanitate literarum mearum obligatum puto, neque tuam hodie epistolam de HS centum sic accepisse, ut ii accipiunt quibus epistolae per haec tempora molestae sunt. Simul illud cogitare debes, me omnem pecuniam, quae ad me salvis legibus pervenisset, Ephesi apud publicanos deposuisse : id fuisse HS **XXII**. eam omnem pecuniam Pompeium abstulisse : quod ego sive aequo animo sive iniquo fero, tu de HS centum aequo animo ferre debes, et existimare eo minus ad te, vel de tuis cibariis vel de mea liberalitate pervenisse. Quod si mihi expensa ista HS centum tulisses, tamen, quae tua est suavitas quique in me amor, nolles a me hoc tempore aestimationem accipere. Nam numeratum si cuperem, non erat. Sed haec jocatum
me

me putato, ut ego te existimo. Ego tamen cum Tullius rure redierit, mittam eum ad te, si quid ad rem putabis pertinere. Hanc epistolam cur non scindi velim causa nulla est. Vale.

EPISTOLA XIX.

CICERO RUFO.

ETSI¹ mihi nunquam dubium fuit quin tibi essem carissimus, tamen quotidie magis id perspicio, exstatque id, quod mihi ostenderas quibusdam literis, hoc te studiosiorem in me colendo fore quam in provincia fuisses, etsi, meo iudicio, nihil ad tuum provinciale officium addi potest, quo liberius² iudicium esse posset tuum. Itaque me et superiores literae tuae admodum delectaverunt, quibus et expectatum meum³ adventum abs te amanter videbam, et, cum aliter res cecidisset ac putasses, te meo consilio magnopere esse laetatum: et his proximis literis magnum cepi fructum et iudicii et officii tui: iudicii, quod intelligo, te, id quod omnes fortes ac boni viri facere debent, nihil putare utile esse nisi quod rectum honestumque sit: officii, quod te mecum, quodcunque cepissem consilii, polliceris fore: quo neque mihi gratius, neque, ut ego arbitror, tibi honestius esse quidquam potest. Mihi consilium captum jamdiu est: de quo ad te, non quo celandus esses, nihil scripsi
antea,

antea, sed quia communicatio consilii, tali tempore, quasi quaedam admonitio videtur esse officii, vel potius efflagitatio ad coeundam societatem vel periculi vel laboris. Cum vero ea tua sit voluntas, humanitas, benevolentia erga me, libenter amplector talem animum : sed ita, non enim dimittam pudorem in rogando meum, si feceris id, quod ostendis, magnam habebo gratiam : si non feceris, ignoscam : et alterum timori, alterum mihi te negare non potuisse arbitror. Est enim res profecto maxima. Quid rectum ⁴ sit, apparet, quid expediat, obscurum est : ita tamen, ut, si nos ii sumus qui esse debemus, id est, studio digni et literis nostris, dubitare non possimus quin ea maxime conducant quae sunt rectissima. Quare ⁵ tu, si simul placebit, statim ad me venies. Sin idem placebit, atque eodem, nec continuo poteris, omnia tibi ut nota sint faciam. Quidquid statueris, te mihi amicum, sin id quod opto, etiam amicissimum judicabo. Vale.

EPISTOLA XX.

M.T.C. L. MESCINIO S.D.

GRATAE ¹ mihi tuae literae fuerunt, ex quibus intellexi, quod etiam sine literis arbitrabar, te summa cupiditate affectum esse videndi mei : quod ego ita libenter accipio, ut
tamen

tamen tibi non concedam. Nam² tecum esse, ita mihi omnia, quae opto, contingant, ut vehementer velim. Etenim cum esset major et virorum et civium bonorum et jucundorum hominum, et amantium mei copia, tamen erat nemo quicum essem libentius quam tecum, et pauci quibuscum essem aequae libenter. Hoc vero tempore, cum alii interierint, alii absint, alii mutati voluntate sint, unum, medius fidius, tecum diem libentius posuerim, quam hoc omne tempus cum plerisque eorum³, quibuscum vivo necessario. Noli enim existimare, mihi solitudinem non jucundioresse, qua tamen ipsa uti non licet, quam sermones eorum qui frequentant domum meam, excepto uno aut summum altero. Itaque utor eodem perfugio, quo tibi utendum censeo, literulis⁴ nostris; praeterea conscientia etiam consiliorum meorum. Ego enim is sum, quemadmodum tu facillime potes existimare, qui nihil unquam mea potius, quam meorum civium causa fecerim: cui nisi invidisset⁵ is, quem tu nunquam amasti, me enim amabas, et ipse beatus esset, et omnes boni. Ego sum, qui nullius vim plus valere volui quam honestum otium: idemque, cum illa ipsa arma, quae semper timueram, plus posse sensi, quam illum consensum bonorum, quem ego idem effeceram,

quavis tuta conditione pacem accipere malui, quam viribus cum valentiore pugnare. Sed et haec et multa alia coram brevi tempore licebit. Neque me tamen ulla res alia Romae tenet, nisi expectatio rerum Africanarum. Videtur enim mihi res in propinquum adducta discrimen. Puto autem mea nonnihil interesse, quanquam id ipsum, quid intersit, non sane intelligo: verumtamen, quicquid illinc nuntiatum sit, non longe abesse a consiliis amicorum. Est enim res jam in eum locum adducta, ut quanquam multum intersit inter eorum causas, qui dimicant, tamen inter victorias non multum interfuturum putem. Sed plane animus, qui dubiis rebus forsitan fuerit infirmior, desperatis confirmatus est multum; quem etiam tuae superiores literae confirmarunt, quibus intellexi quam fortiter injuriam ferres: juvitque me, tibi cum summam humanitatem tum etiam tuas literas profuisse. Verum enim scribam, teneriore mihi animo videbare, sicut omnes fere, qui vita ingenua⁶ in beata civitate et in libera viximus. Sed ut illa secunda moderate tulimus, sic hanc non solum adversam sed funditus everSAM fortunam fortiter ferre debemus: ut hoc saltem in maximis malis boni consequamur, ut mortem, quam etiam beati contemnere debeamus, propterea quod nullum sensum

sensum esset habitura, nunc sic affecti, non modo contemnere debeamus, sed etiam optare. Tu, si me diligis, fruiere isto otio, tibi que persuade, praeter culpam ac peccatum, qua semper caruisti et carebis, homini accidere nihil posse, quod sit horribile aut pertimescendum. Ego, si videbitur recte fieri posse, ad te veniam brevi: si quid acciderit, ut mutandum consilium sit, te certiore faciam statim. Tu ita fac cupidus mei videndi sis, ut istinc te ne moveas tam infirma valetudine, nisi ex me prius quaesieris per literas quid te velim facere. Me velim, ut facis, diligas, valetudinique tuae et tranquillitati animi servias. Vale.





MARCI
TULLII CICERONIS
EPISTOLARUM
AD FAMILIARES
LIBER VI.

EPISTOLA I.

M. CICERO A. TORQUATO S.D.

ETSI¹ ea perturbatio est omnium rerum
ut suae quemque fortunae maxime poe-
niteat, nemoque sit, quin ubivis, quam ibi ubi
est, esse malit : tamen mihi dubium non est, quin
hoc tempore, bono viro Romae esse miserrimum
sit. Nam, etsi, quocunque in loco quisquis est,
idem est ei sensus et eadem acerbitas ex interitu
rerum

rerum et publicarum et suarum, tamen oculi augent dolorem, qui ea, quae caeteri audiunt, intueri coguntur, nec avertere a miseriis cogitationem sinunt. Quare etsi multarum rerum desiderio te angere necesse est, tamen illo dolore, quo maxime te confici audio, quod Romae non sis, animum tuum libera. Etsi enim cum magna molestia tuos tuaque desideras, tamen illa quidem, quae requiris, suum statum tenent, nec melius, si tu adesses, tenerent, nec sunt ullo in proprio periculo. Nec debes tu, cum de tuis cogitas, aut praecipuam aliquam fortunam postulare, aut communem recusare. De te autem ipso, Torquate, est tuum sic agitare animo, ut non adhibeas in consilium cogitationum tuarum desperationem, aut timorem. Nec enim is qui in te adhuc iniustior, quam tua dignitas postulabat, fuit, non magna signa dedit animi erga te mitigati. Nec tamen is ipse, a quo salus petitur, habet explicatam aut exploratam rationem salutis suae. Cumque omnium bellorum exitus incerti sint, ab altera victoria tibi periculum nullum esse perspicio, quod quidem sejunctum sit ab omnium interitu: ab altera te ipsum nunquam timuisse certe scio. Reliquum est ut te id ipsum, quod ego quasi consolationis loco pono, maxime excruciet, commune periculum rei-

publicae, cujus tanti mali, quamvis docti viri multa dicant, tamen vereor ne consolatio ulla possit vera reperiri, praeter illam, quae tanta est, quantum in cujusque animo roboris est atque nervorum. Si enim bene sentire, recteque facere, satis est ad bene beateque vivendum, vereor ne eum, qui se optimorum consiliorum conscientia sustentare possit, miserum esse, nefas sit dicere. Nec enim nos arbitror victoriae praemiis ductos, patriam olim et liberos et fortunas reliquisse, sed quoddam nobis officium justum et pium et debitum reipublicae nostraeque dignitati videbamus sequi: nec cum id faciebamus, tam eramus amentes, ut explorata nobis esset victoria. Quare si id evenit, quod ingredientibus nobis in causam propositum fuit accidere posse, non debemus ita cadere animis, quasi aliquid evenerit, quod fieri posse nunquam putarimus. Simus igitur ea mente quam ratio et veritas praescribit, ut nihil in vita nobis praestandum praeter culpam putemus: eaque cum careamus, omnia humana placate et moderate feramus. Atque haec eo pertinet oratio, ut, perditis rebus omnibus, tamen ipsa virtus se sustentare posse videatur. Sed, si est spes aliqua rebus communibus, ea tu, quicumque status est futurus, carere non debes. Atque haec mihi scribenti

benti veniebant in mentem, me eum esse, cujus tu desperationem accusare solitus esses, quemque auctoritate tua cunctantem et diffidentem excitare. Quo quidem tempore non ego causam nostram sed consilium³ improbabam. Sero enim nos iis armis adversari videbam, quae multo ante confirmata per nosmetipsos erant: dolebamque, pilis et gladiis, non consiliis neque auctoritatibus nostris de jure publico disceptari. Neque ego ea, quae facta sunt, fore cum dicebam, divinabam futura: sed quod et fieri posse, et exitiosum fore, si evenisset, videbam: id ne accideret, timebam, praesertim cum, si mihi alterutrum de eventu atque exitu rerum promittendum esset, id futurum, quod evenit, exploratius possem promittere. Iis enim rebus praestabamus, quae non prodeunt in aciem, usu autem armorum et militum robore inferiores eramus. Sed tu illum animum nunc adhibe, quaeso, quo metum esse oportere censebas. Haec eo scripsi, quod mihi Philargyrus tuus omnia de te requiranti, fidelissimo animo, ut mihi quidem visus est, narravit, te interdum sollicitum solere esse vehementius: quod facere non debes, nec dubitare, quin aut aliqua republica sis futurus, qui esse debes; aut perdita, non afflictiore conditione quam caeteri. Hoc vero tempus, quo exa-

nimati omnes et suspensi sumus, hoc moderatiore animo ferre debes, quod et in urbe ea es, ubi nata et alta est ratio ac moderatio vitae: et habes⁴ Ser. Sulpicium, quem semper unice dilexisti, qui te profecto et benevolentia et sapientia consolatur. Cujus si essemus et auctoritatem et consilium secuti, togati potius potentiam, quam armati victoriam subissemus. Sed haec longiora fortasse fuerunt, quam necessifuit, illa, quae majora sunt, brevius exponam. Ego habeo, cui plus, quam tibi debeam neminem: quibus tantum debebam, quantum tu intelligis, eos mihi hujus belli casus eripuit. Qui sim autem hoc tempore intelligo. Sed quia nemo est tam afflictus, qui, si nihil aliud studeat nisi id quod agit, non possit navare aliquid et efficere: omne meum consilium, operam, studium certe velim existimes tibi tuisque liberis esse debitum. Vale.

EPISTOLA II.

M.T.C. A. TORQUATO S.D.

SUPERIORIBUS¹ literis benevolentia magis adductus, quam quod res ita postuleret, fui longior. Neque enim confirmatione nostra egebat virtus tua: neque erat ea mea causa atque fortuna, ut, cui ipsi omnia deessent, alterum confirmarem. Hoc item tempore brevior esse debeo.

debeo. Sive enim nihil tum opus fuit tam multis verbis, nihilo magis nunc opus est: sive tum opus fuit, illud satis est, praesertim cum accesserit nihil novi. Nam etsi quotidie aliquid audimus earum rerum, quas ad te perferri existimo, summa tamen eadem est, et idem exitus, quem ego tam video animo quam ea quae oculis cerimus. Nec vero quidquam video quod non idem te videre certo scio. Nam etsi quem exitum acies² habitura sit divinare nemo potest, tamen et belli exitum video, et, si id minus, hoc quidem certe, cum si necesse alterutrum vincere, qualis futura sit vel haec vel illa victoria. Idque cum optime perspexi, tale video, nihil ut mali videatur futurum, si id vel ante acciderit, quod vel maximum ad timorem proponitur. Ita enim vivere, ut tum sit vivendum, miserrimum est: mori autem nemo sapiens miserum dixit, ne beato quidem. Sed in ea es urbe in qua haec, vel plura, et ornatiora parietes ipsi loqui posse videantur. Ego tibi hoc confirmo, etsi levis est consolatio ex miseriis aliorum, nihilo te nunc majore in discrimine esse, quam quemvis aut eorum qui discesserint,³ aut eorum qui remanserint. Alteri dimicant, alteri victorem timent. Sed haec consolatio levis est, illa gravior, qua te uti spero, ego certe utor: nec enim, dum ero,

angar

angar ulla re, cum omni vacem culpa: et si non
 ero, sensu omnino carebo. Sed rursus γλαῦκ' εἰς
 Ἀθήνας, qui ad te haec. Mihi tu, tui, tua omnia
 maximae curae sunt, et, dum vivam, erunt.
 Vale.

EPISTOLA III.

M.T.C. A. TORQUATO S.D.

NOVI, ¹quod ad te scriberem, nihil erat:
 et tamen si quid esset, sciebam te a tuis
 certiorum fieri solere. De futuris autem rebus
 etsi semper difficile est dicere, tamen interdum
 conjectura possis propius accedere, cum est res
 ejusmodi, cujus exitus provideri possit. Nunc
 tantum videmur intelligere, non diuturnum bel-
 lum: etsi id ipsum nonnullis videatur secus. E-
 quidem cum haec scribebam, aliquid jam actum
 putabam: non quo ²ego certo sciam, sed quod
 haud difficilis erat conjectura. Nam cum omnis
 belli Mars communis, et cum semper incerti exi-
 tus proeliorum sunt: tum hoc tempore ita ma-
 gnae utrinque copiae, ita paratae ad depugnand-
 um esse dicuntur, ut utercunque vicerit, non sit
 mirum futurum. Illa in dies singulos magis ma-
 gisque opinio hominum confirmatur, etiamsi in-
 ter causas armorum aliquantum interfit, tamen
 inter victorias non multum interfuturum. Al-
 teros

teros³ propemodum jam sumus experti; de al-
 tero nemo est quin cogitet, cum sit metuendus
 iratus victor armatus. Hoc loco si videor auge-
 re dolorem tuum, quem consolando levare de-
 beam, fateor me communium malorum conso-
 lationem nullam invenire, praeter illam: quae
 tamen, si possis eam suscipere, maxima est, qua-
 e ego quotidie magis utor: conscientiam re-
 ctae voluntatis, maximam consolationem esse
 rerum incommodarum: nec esse ullum magnum
 malum, praeter culpam. A qua quum tantum
 absumus ut etiam optime senserimus, eventus-
 que magis nostri consilii quam consilium repre-
 hendatur, et quum praestitimus, quod debuimus,
 moderate quod evenit, feramus. Sed hoc mihi
 tamen non sumo, ut te consolet de communibus
 miseriis, quae ad consolandum majoris ingenii
 et ad ferendum singularis virtutis indigent. Il-
 lud cuivis facile est docere, cur praecipue tu do-
 lere nihil debeas. Ejus enim, qui tardior in te
 levando fuit quam fore putaremus, non est mi-
 hi dubia de tua salute sententia. De aliis autem
 non arbitror te exspectare quid sentiam. Reli-
 quum est, ut te angat quod absis a tuis tamdiu.
 Res molesta, praesertim ab iis pueris quibus ni-
 hil potest esse festivius. Sed, ut ad te scripsi an-
 tea, tempus est hujusmodi ut suam quisque con-
 ditionem

ditionem miserrimam putet, et ubi quisque sit, ibi esse minime velit. Equidem nos quod Romae sumus miserrimum esse duco, non solum quod in malis omnibus acerbius est videre quam audire; sed etiam quod ad omnes casus subitorum periculorum magis objecti sumus, quam si abessemus. Etsi meipsum, consolatorem tuum, non tantum literae, quibus semper studui, quantum longinquitas temporis mitigavit. Quanto fuerim dolore, meministi. In quo prima illa consolatio est, vidisse me plus quam caeteros, cum cupiebam, quamvis iniqua conditione, pacem. Quod etsi casu, non divinatione mea factum est, tamen in hac inani prudentiae laude delector. Deinde, quod mihi ad consolationem commune tecum est, si jam vocer ad exitum vitae, non ab ea republica, avellar qua carendum esse doleam, praesertim cum id sine ullo sensu futurum sit. Adjuvat etiam aetas, et acta jam vita, quae cum cursu suo bene confecto delectatur, tum vetat in eo vim timere, quo nos jam natura ipsa paene perduxerit. Postremo, is vir, vel etiam ii viri hoc bello occiderunt, ut impudentia videatur eandem fortunam, si res cogat, recusare. Equidem mihi omnia propono, nec ullum est tantum malum, quod non putem impendere. Sed cum plus in metuendo mali sit, quam in ipso illo quod timetur,

mitur, desino: praesertim cum impendeat, in quo non modo dolor nullus, verum finis etiam doloris futurus sit. Sed haec satis multa, vel plura potius quam necesse fuit. Facit autem non loquacitas mea, sed benevolentia longiores epistolas. Servium discessisse Athenis moleste tuli: non enim dubito quin magnae tibi levationi solitus sit esse quotidianus congressus, et sermo cum familiarissimi hominis, tum optimi et prudentissimi viri. Tu velim te, ut debes et soles, tua virtute sustentare. Ego, quae te velle, quaeque ad te, et ad tuos pertinere arbitrabor, omnia studiose diligenterque curabo: quae cum faciam, benevolentiam tuam erga me imitabor, merita non assequar. Vale.

EPISTOLA IV.

M.T.C. A. TORQUATO S.D.

PETO^a te, ne me putes oblivione tui rarius ad te scribere quam solebam, sed aut gravitate valetudinis, qua tamen jam paulum videor levare, aut quod absim ab urbe, ut qui ad te proficiscantur scire non possim. Quare velim ita statutum habeas, me tui memoriam cum summa benevolentia tenere, tuasque omnes res non minori mihi curae quam meas esse. Quod majore in varietate versata est adhuc tua causa, quam
homines

homines aut volebant aut opinabantur, mihi crede, non est pro malis temporum, quod moleste feras. Neceffe est enim aut armis urgeri rempublicam sempiternis, aut, his positis, recreari aliquando, aut funditus interire. Si arma valent, nec eos a quibus reciperis vereri debes, nec eos quos adjuvisti. Si armis aut conditione positis, aut defatigatione abjectis, aut victoria detractis, civitas respiraverit, et dignitate frui tibi et fortunis licebit. Sin omnino interierint omnia, fueritque is exitus quem vir prudentissimus M.² Antonius jam tum timebat, cum tantum instare malorum suspicabatur, misera est illa quidem consolatio, tali praesertim civi et viro, sed tamen necessaria, nihil esse praecipue cuiquam dolendum in eo, quod accidit universis. Quae vis infit in his paucis verbis, plura enim committenda epistolae non erant, si attendes, quod facis, profecto etiam sine meis literis intelliges te aliquid habere quod speres, nihil quod aut hoc aut aliquo reipublicae statu timeas: omnia si interierint, cum superstitem te esse reipublicae ne, si liceat quidem, velis, ferendam esse fortunam, praesertim quae absit a culpa. Sed haec hactenus. Tu velim scribas ad me quid agas et ubi futurus sis, ut aut quo scribam, aut quo veniam scire possim. Vale.

EPIS-

EPISTOLA V.

M.C. A. CAECINAE S.D.

CUM¹ esset mecum Largus, homo tui studiosus, locutus kalendas Januarias tibi praefinitas esse: quod omnibus rebus perspexeram, quae Balbus et Oppius absente Caesare egissent, ea solere illi rata esse, egi vehementer cum his, ut hoc mihi darent, tibi in Sicilia, quoad vellemus, esse uti liceret. Qui mihi consueissent aut libenter polliceri, si quid esset ejusmodi, quod eorum animos non offenderet, aut etiam negare, et afferre rationem, cur negarent, huic meae² rogationi potius non continuo responderunt: eodem die tamen ad me reverterunt, mihi hoc dederunt ut esses in Sicilia quoad velles; se praestatu-
 ros, nihil ex eo te offensionis habiturum. Quando quid tibi permittatur cognovisti, quid mihi placeat puto te scire oportere. Actis his rebus literae a te mihi redditae sunt, quibus a me consilium petis, quid sim tibi auctor, in Sicili-
 ane subsidias, an ad reliquias Asiaticae³ negotiationis proficiscare. Haec tua deliberatio non mihi convenire visa est cum oratione Largi. Ille enim mecum, quasi tibi non liceret in Sicilia diutius commorari, ita locutus erat, tu autem, quasi concessum sit, ita deliberas. Sed ego, sive hoc, sive
 illud

illud est, in Sicilia cenſeo commorandum. Pro-
 pinquitas locorum vel ad impetrandum adjuvat
 crebris literis et nuntiis, vel ad reditus celerita-
 tem re aut impetrata, quod ſpero, aut aliqua ra-
 tione conſecta. Quamobrem cenſeo magno ope-
 re commorandum. T.⁴Furfanio Poſtumo, fa-
 miliari meo, legatiſque ejus, item meis familia-
 ribus, diligentiffime te commendabo cum vene-
 rint. Erant enim omnes Mutinae. Viri ſunt o-
 ptimi, et tui ſimilium ſtudioſi, et mei neceſſa-
 rii. Quae mihi venient in mentem, quae ad te
 pertinere arbitror, ea mea ſponte faciam. Si
 quid ignorabo, de eo admonitus omnium ſtudia
 vincam. Ego etſi coram de te cum Furfanio ita
 loquar, ut tibi literis meis ad eum nihil opus ſit,
 tamen quum tuis placuit te habere meas literas,
 quas ei redderes, morem his geſſi. Earum lite-
 rarum exemplum infra ſcriptum eſt. Vale.

EPISTOLA VI.

M.T.C. T. FURFANIO PROCOS. S.D.

CUM A. Caecina tanta mihi familiaritas con-
 ſuetudoque ſemper fuit, ut nulla major eſſe
 poſſit. Nam et patre ejus, claro homine et forti
 viro, plurimum uſi ſumus: et hunc a puero,
 quod et ſpem magnam mihi afferebat ſummae
 probitatis ſummaeque eloquentiae, et vivebat
 mecum

mecum conjunctissime, non solum officiis amicitiae, sed etiam studiis communibus, sic semper dilexi ut non ullo cum homine conjunctius viverem. Nihil attinet me plura scribere, quam quod mihi necesse est ejus salutem et fortunas, quibuscunque rebus possim, tueri, ¹ ut vides. Reliquum est, ut, cum cognorim pluribus rebus, quid tu et de bonorum fortuna et de reipublicae calamitatibus sentires, nihil a te petam, nisi ut ad eam voluntatem, quam tua sponte erga Caecinam habiturus esses, tantus cumulus accedat commendatione mea quanti me a te fieri intelligo. Hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes. Vale.

EPISTOLA VII.

A. CAECINA M. CICERONI S.D.

QUOD ¹ tibi non tam celeriter liber est redditus, ignosce timori nostro, et miserere temporis. Filius, ut audio, pertimuit, neque injuria, si liber exisset, quum non tam interest quo animo scribatur, quam quo accipiat, ne ea res inepte mihi noceret, cum praesertim adhuc styli poenas dem. Qua quidem in re singulari sum fato: nam cum mendum scripturae litura ² tollatur, stultitia fama mulctetur, meus error exilio corrigitur: cujus summa criminis est, quod armatus adversario maledixi. Nemo nostrum est,

O

ut

ut opinor, quin vota victoriae suae fecerit; nemo quin etiam cum de alia re immolaret, tamen eo quidem ipso tempore, ut quamprimum Caesar superaretur, optarit. Hoc si non cogitat, omnibus rebus felix est. Si scit et persuasus est, quid irascitur ei, qui aliquid scripsit contra suam voluntatem, cum ignorit omnibus, qui multa deos venerati sint contra ejus salutem? Sed, ut eodem revertar, causa haec fuit timoris. Scripsi³ de te parce medius fidius et timide, non revocans me ipse, sed pene refugiens. Genus autem hoc scripturae, non modo liberum, sed incitatum atque elatum esse debere, quis ignorat? Solutum existimatur esse alteri maledicere, tamen cavendum est, ne in petulantiam incidas. Impeditum se ipsum laudare, ne vitium arrogantiae subsequatur. Solum vero liberum, alterum laudare, de quo quidquid detrahas, necesse est aut infirmitati aut invidiae assignetur. Ac nescio an tibi gratius opportuniusque acciderit. Nam quod praeclare facere non poteram, primum erat non attingere: secundum beneficium quam parcissime facere. Sed tamen ego quidem me sustinui. Multa minui, multa sustuli, complura ne posui quidem. Quemadmodum igitur scalarum gradus si alios tollas, alios incidas, nonnullos male haerentes relinquas, ruinae periculum struas, non adscen-
sum

sum pares: sic tot malis cum vinctum, tum fractum studium scribendi, quid dignum auribus aut probabile potest afferre? Cum vero ad ipsius Caesaris nomen veni, toto corpore contremisco, non poenae metu, sed illius iudicii. Totum enim Caesarem non novi. Quem putas⁴ animum esse ubi secum loquitur? hoc probabit: hoc verbum suspiciosum est. Quid si hoc muto? at vereor ne pejus sit. Age vero laudo aliquem, num offendendo? cum porro offendam, quid si non vult? armati stylum persequitur: victi et nondum restituti quid faciet? Auges⁵ etiam tu mihi timorem, qui in oratore tuo caves tibi per Brutum, et ad excusationem socium quaeris. Ubi hoc omnium patronus facis, quid me, veterem tuum, nunc omnium clientem sentire oportet? In hac igitur calumnia⁶ timoris et caecae suspicionis tormento, cum plurima ad alieni sensus conjecturam, non ad suum iudicium scribantur, quam difficile sit evadere, si minus expertus es, quod te ad omnia summum atque excellens ingenium armavit, nos sentimus. Sed tamen ego filio dixeram, librum tibi legeret, et auferret: aut ea conditione daret, si reciperes te correcturum, hoc est, si totum alium faceres. De Asiatico itinere, quanquam summa necessitas premebat, ut imperasti, feci. Te pro me quid hortor? vides tempus venisse, quo necesse

ceffe fit de nobis constitui. Nihil est, mi Cicero, quod filium meum exspectes. Adolefcens est, omnia excogitare vel studio, vel aetate, vel metu non potest. Totum negotium tu sustineas oportet: in te mihi omnis spes est. Tu, pro tua prudentia, quibus rebus gaudeat, quibus capiatur Caesar, tenes: a te omnia proficiantur, et per te ad exitum perducantur necesse est. Apud ipsum multum, apud ejus omnes plurimum potes. Unum tibi si persuaferis, non hoc esse tui muneris, si quid⁶ rogatus fueris, ut facias, quanquam id magnum et amplum est, sed totum tuum esse onus, perficies. Nisi forte aut in miseria nimis stulte, aut in amicitia nimis impudenter tibi onus impono. Sed utrique rei excusationem tuae vitae consuetudo dat. Nam quod ita consueris pro amicis laborare, non jam sic sperant abs te, sed etiam sic imperant tibi familiares. Quod ad librum attinet quem tibi filius dabit, peto a te ne exeat, aut ita corrigas, ne mihi noceat. Vale.

EPISTOLA VIII.

M.T.C. A. CAECINAE S.D.

QUOTIESCUNQUE¹ filium tuum video, video autem fere quotidie, polliceor ei studium quidem meum et operam, sine ulla exceptione aut laboris, aut occupationis, aut temporis:

poris: gratiam autem, atque auctoritatem, cum hac exceptione, quantum valeam, quantumque possim. Liber tuus et lectus est, et legitur a me diligenter, et custoditur diligentissime. Res et fortunae tuae mihi maximae curae sunt, quae quidem quotidie faciliores mihi et meliores videntur, multisque video magnae esse curae, quorum de studio et de sua spe filium ad te perscripsisse certo scio. His autem de rebus, quas conjectura consequi possumus, non mihi fumo ut plus ipse prospiciam, quam te videre atque intelligere mihi persuaferim: sed tamen quia fieri potest, ut tu ea perturbatiore animo cogites, puto esse meum, quid sentiam, exponere. Ea natura rerum est, et is temporum cursus, ut non possit ista aut tibi, aut caeteris fortuna esse diuturna, neque haerere in tam bona causa, et in tam bonis civibus tam acerba injuria. Quare ad eam spem, quam extra² ordinem de te ipso habemus, non solum propter dignitatem et virtutem tuam, haec enim ornamenta sunt tibi etiam cum aliis communia, accedunt tua praecipua, propter eximium ingenium summamque virtutem. Cui mehercule hic, cujus in potestate sumus, multum tribuit. Itaque ne punctum quidem temporis in ista fortuna fuisses, nisi eo ipso bono tuo, quo delectatur, se violatum putasset. Quod ipsum lenitur

o 3

quotidie,

quotidie, significaturque nobis ab iis, qui simul cum eo vivunt, tibi hanc ipsam opinionem ingenii apud ipsum plurimum profuturam. Quapropter primum fac animo forti atque magnofis. Ita enim natus, ita educatus, ita doctus es, ita etiam cognitus, ut tibi id faciendum sit: deinde spem quoque habeas firmissimam propter eas causas, quas scripsi. A me vero tibi omnia liberisque tuis paratissima esse confidas velim. Id enim et vetustas nostri amoris, et mea consuetudo in meos, et tua multa erga me officia postulant. Vale.

EPISTOLA IX.

M.T.C. A. CAECINAE S.D.

VEREOR, ¹ ne desideres officium meum: quod tibi pro nostra et meritorum multorum, et studiorum et partium conjunctione deesse non debet: sed tamen vereor ne literarum a me officium requiras, quas tibi et jam pridem et saepe misissem, nisi quotidie melius expectans, gratulationem quam confirmationem animi tui complecti literis maluissem. Nunc, ut spero, brevi gratulabimur. Itaque in aliud tempus id argumentum epistolae differo. His autem literis animum tuum, quem minime imbecillum esse et audio et spero, etsi non sapientissimi, at amicissimi

cissimi hominis auctoritate confirmandum etiam atque etiam puto : nec iis quidem verbis, quibus te consolet ut afflictum, et jam omni spe salutis orbatum, sed ut eum, de cuius incolumitate non plus dubitem, quam te memini dubitare de mea. Nam cum me ex republica² expulissent ii, qui illam cadere posse stante me non putarunt, memini me ex multis hospitibus, qui ad me ex Asia, in qua tu eras, venerant, audire, te de glorioso et celeri reditu meo confirmare. Si te ratio quaedam Etruscae³ disciplinae, quam a patre, nobilissimo atque optimo viro, acceperas, non fefellit, ne nos quidem nostra divinatio fallat, quam cum sapientissimorum virorum monumentis atque praeceptis, plurimoque, ut tu scis, doctrinae studio, tum magno etiam usu tractandae reipublicae magnaque nostrorum temporum varietate consecuti sumus. Cui quidem divinationi hoc plus confidimus, quod ea nos nihil in his tam obscuris rebus tamque perturbatis unquam omnino fefellit. Dicerem, quae ante futura dixissem, ni vereretur ne ex eventis fingere viderer. Sed tamen plurimi sunt testes, me et initio, ne conjungeret se cum Caesare, monuisse Pompeium, et postea, ne sejungeret. Conjunctione frangi senatus opes : disjunctione civile bellum excitari videbam. Atque utebar familiarissime Caesare,

Pompeium faciebam plurimi: sed erat meum consilium cum fidele Pompeio, tum salutare utri-
que. Quae praeterea providerim, praetereo. No-
lo enim hunc de me optime meritum existimare,
ea⁴ me suasisse Pompeio, quibus ille si paruisset,
esset hic quidem clarus in toga et princeps; sed
tantas opes, quantas nunc habet, non haberet.
Eundum in Hispaniam censui: quod si fecisset,
civile bellum nullum omnino fuisset. Rationem
⁵haberi absentis non tam pugnavi ut liceret, quam
ut, quum, ipso consule pugnante, populus iusserat,
haberetur. Causa orta belli est. Quid ego prae-
termisi aut monitorum aut querelarum, cum vel
iniquissimam pacem iustissimo bello anteferrem?
Victa est auctoritas mea, non tam a Pompeio,
nam is movebatur, quam ab iis, qui duce Pom-
peio freti peropportunam et rebus domesticis et
cupiditatibus suis illius belli victoriam fore pu-
tabant. Susceptum bellum est, quiescente me:
depulsum ex Italia, manente me, quoad potui:
sed valuit apud me plus pudor meus quam ti-
mor. Veritus sum deesse Pompeii saluti, cum ille
aliquando non defuisset meae. Itaque vel officio,
vel fama bonorum, vel pudore victus, ut in fa-
bulis⁶ Amphiaras, sic ego prudens et sciens ad
pestem ante oculos positam sum profectus. Quo
in bello nihil adversi accidit non praedicente me.

Quare,

Quare, quum ut augures et astrologi solent, ego quoque augur publicus ex meis superioribus praedictis constitui apud te auctoritatem augurii et divinationis meae, debet habere fidem nostra praedictio. Non igitur ex⁷ alitis involatu, nec e cantu sinistro oscinis, ut in nostra disciplina est, nec ex tripudiis solistimis, aut soniviis tibi auguror: sed habeo alia signa, quae observem, quae etsi non sunt certiora illis, minus tamen habent vel obscuritatis vel erroris. Notantur autem mihi ad divinandum signa duplici quadam via: quarum alteram duco a Caesare ipso, alteram e temporum civilium natura atque ratione. In Caesare haec sunt: mitis clemensque natura, qualis exprimitur praeclaro illo libro Querelarum⁸ tuarum. Accedit, quod mirifice ingeniis excellentibus, quale est tuum, delectatur. Praeterea cedit multorum iustis et officio incensis, non inanibus aut ambitiosis voluntatibus. In quo vehementer eum consentiens Etruria movebit. Cur haec igitur adhuc parum profecerunt? Quia non putat se sustinere causas posse multorum, si tibi, cui iustius videtur irasci posse, concesserit. Quae est igitur, inquires, spes ab irato? Ex eodem fonte se hausturum intelligit laudes suas, e quo sit leviter adpersus. Postremo homo valde est acutus et multum providens: intelligit te hominem

in parte Italiae minime contemnenda facile omnium nobilissimum, et in communi republica cuius summorum tuae aetatis vel ingenio, vel gratia, vel fama populi Romani parem, non posse prohiberi republica diutius. Nollet hoc temporis potius esse aliquando beneficium, quam jam suum. Dixi de Caesare. Nunc dicam de temporum rerumque natura. Nemo est tam inimicus ei causae, quam Pompeius animatus melius, quam paratus susceperat, qui nos malos cives dicere aut homines improbos audeat. In quo admirari soleo gravitatem et iustitiam et sapientiam Caesaris. Nunquam nisi honorificentissime Pompeium appellat. At in ejus personam multa fecit asperius. Armorum ista et victoriae sunt facta, non Caesaris. At nos quemadmodum est complexus? Cassium sibi legavit, Brutum Galliae praefecit, Sulpicium Graeciae, Marcellum, cui maxime succensebat, cum summa illius dignitate restituit. Quo igitur haec spectant? Rerum hoc natura et civilium temporum non patietur, nec manens nec mutata ratio feret, primum ut non in causa pari eadem sit et conditio et fortuna omnium: deinde, ut in eam civitatem boni viri et boni cives nulla ignominia notati non revertantur, in quam tot nefariorum scelerum condemnati reverterunt. Habes augurium

um meum, quo, si quid addubitarem, non potius uterer, quam illa consolatione qua facile fortem virum sustentarem: te, si explorata victoria arma sumisses pro republica, ita enim tum putabas, non nimis esse laudandum: sin, propter incertos exitus eventusque bellorum, posse accidere, ut vinceremur, putasses, non debere te ad secundam fortunam bene paratum fuisse, adversam ferre nullo modo posse. Disputarem etiam, quanto solatio tibi conscientia tui facti, quantaeve delectationi in rebus adversis literae esse deberent. Commemorarem non solum veterum, sed horum etiam recentium vel ducum vel comitum tuorum gravissimos casus. Etiam externos multos claros viros nominarem. Levat enim dolorem communis quasi legis et humanae conditionis recordatio. Exponerem etiam, quemadmodum hic, et quanta in turba quantaque in confusione rerum omnium viveremus. Necessesse est enim minore desiderio perdita republica carere quam bona. Sed hoc genere nihil opus est. Incolumem te cito, ut spero, vel potius, ut perspicio, videbimus. Interea tibi absenti, et huic qui adest, imagini animi et corporis tui, constantissimo atque optimo filio tuo, studium, officium, operam, laborem meum jampridem et pollicitus sum et detuli: nunc hoc amplius, quod me
ami-

amicissime quotidie magis Caesar amplectitur : familiares quidem ejus, sicuti neminem. Apud quem quidquid valebo vel auctoritate vel gratia, valebo tibi. Tu cura, ut cum firmitudine te animi tum etiam spe optima sustentēs. Vale.

EPISTOLA X.

M.T.C. TREBANIO S.D:

ANTEA ¹misissēm ad te literas, si genus scribendi invenirem. Tali enim tempore aut consolari amicorum est, aut polliceri. Consolatione non utebar, quod ex multis audiebam quam fortiter sapienterque ferres injuriam temporum, quamque te vehementer consolaretur conscientia factorum et consiliorum tuorum : quod quidem si facis, magnum fructum studiorum optimorum capis, in quibus te semper scio esse versatum, idque ut facias, etiam atque etiam te hortor. Simul et illud tibi, homini peritissimo rerum et exemplorum et omnis vetustatis, ne ipse quidem rudis, sed in studio minus fortasse, quam vellem, at in rebus atque usu plus etiam, quam vellem, versatus spondeo, tibi istam acerbitem et injuriam non diuturne fore. Nam et ipse qui plurimum potest, quotidie mihi delabi ad aequitatem et ad rerum naturam videtur : et ipsa causa ea est, ut jam simul cum republica quae

quae in perpetuum jacere non potest, necessario reviviscat atque recreetur : quotidieque aliquid fit lenius et liberalius, quam timebamus. Quae quoniam in temporum inclinationibus saepe parvis posita sunt, omnia momenta observabimus, neque ullum praetermitteremus tui juvandi et levandi locum. Itaque illud alterum, quod dixi, literarum genus quotidie mihi, ut spero, fiet proclivius, ut etiam polliceri possim. Id re, quam verbis, faciam libentius. Tu velim existimes, et plures te amicos habere, quam qui in isto casu sint ac fuerint, quantum quidem ego intelligere potuerim, et me concedere eorum nemini. Fortem fac animum habeas et magnum, quod est in uno te. Quae sunt in fortuna temporibus regentur, et consiliis nostris providebuntur. Vale.

EPISTOLA XI.

M.T.C. TREBIANO S.D.

EGO quanti te faciam semperque fecerim, quanti me a te fieri intellexerim, sum mihi ipse testis. Nam et consilium tuum, vel casus potius diutius in armis civilibus commorandi, semper mihi magno dolori fuit : et hic eventus, quod tardius, quam est aequum et quam ego vellem, recuperas fortunam et dignitatem tuam, mihi non minori curae est, quam tibi semper fuerunt

erunt casus mei. Itaque et Postumuleno, et Sestio, et saepissime Attico nostro, proximeque Theudae, liberto tuo, totum me patefeci, et haec his singulis saepe dixi, quaecunque re possem, me tibi et liberis tuis satisfacere cupere: idque tu ad tuos velim scribas: haec quidem certe, quae in potestate mea sunt, ut operam, consilium, rem, fidem meam sibi ad omnes res parata putent. Si auctoritate et gratia tantum possem, quantum in ea republica, de qua ita meritus sum, posse deberem, tu quoque is esses, qui fuisti, cum omni gradu amplissimo dignissimus, tum certe ordinis tui facile princeps. Sed quum eodem tempore eademque de causa nostrum uterque cecidit, tibi et illa polliceor, quae supra scripsi, quae sunt adhuc mea: et ea quae praeterea videor mihi ex aliqua parte retinere, tanquam ex reliquiis pristinae dignitatis. Neque enim ipse Caesar, ut multis rebus intelligere potui, est alienus a nobis, et omnes fere familiarissimi ejus casu² devincti magnis meis veteribus officiis me diligenter observant et colunt. Itaque si qui mihi erit aditus de tuis fortunis, id est, de tua incolumitate, in qua sunt omnia, agendi, quod quidem quotidie magis ex eorum sermonibus adducor ut sperem, agam per me ipse et moliar. Singula persequi non est necesse. Univer-

sum

sum studium meum et benevolentiam ad te deferro. Sed magni mea interest, hoc tuos omnes scire, quod tuis literis fieri potest, ut intelligant omnia Ciceronis patere Trebiano. Hoc eo pertinet, ut nihil existiment esse tam difficile, quod non pro te mihi susceptum jucundum sit futurum. Vale.

EPISTOLA XII.

M.C. TREBIANO S.D.

DOLABELLAM ¹ antea tantummodo diligebam; obligatus ei nihil eram: uec enim acciderat mihi opus esse, et ille mihi debebat, quod non defueram ejus periculis. Nunc tanto sum devinctus ejus beneficio, quod et antea in re, et hoc tempore in salute tua cumulatissime mihi satisfecit, ut nemini plus debeam. Qua in re tibi gratulor ita vehementer, ut te quoque mihi gratulari, quam gratias agere malim. Alterum omnino non desidero, alterum vere facere poteris. Quod reliquum est, quando tibi virtus et dignitas tua reditum ad tuos aperuit, est tuae sapientiae, magnitudinisque animi, quid amiseris oblivisci, quid recuperaris cogitare. Vives cum tuis, vives nobiscum. Plus acquisisti dignitatis quam amisisti rei familiaris: quae ipsa tum esset jucundior, si ulla res esset publica. Vestorius

storius noster familiaris ad me scripsit, te mihi maximas gratias agere. Haec praedicatio tua mihi valde grata est, eaque te uti facile patior, cum apud alios, tum mehercule apud Syronem, nostrum amicum. Quae enim facimus, ea prudentissimo cuique maxime probata esse volumus. Te cupio videre quam primum. Vale.

EPISTOLA XIII.

M.T.C. AMPIO S.D.

GRATULOR¹ tibi, mi Balbe, vereque gratulor. Nec sum tam stultus, ut te usura falsi gaudii frui velim, deinde frangi repente, atque ita cadere, ut nulla res ad aequitatem te animi possit postea extollere. Egi tuam causam apertius, quam mea tempora ferebant. Vincebatur enim fortuna ipsa debilitatae gratiae nostrae tui caritate, et meo perpetuo erga te amore, culto à te diligentissime. Omnia promissa, confirmata, certa et rata sunt, quae ad reditum et ad salutem tuam pertinent. Vidi, cognovi, interfui. Etenim omnes Caesaris familiares satis opportune habeo implicatos consuetudine et benevolentia, sic ut, cum ab illo discesseriat, me habeant proximum. Hoc Pansa, Hirtius, Balbus, Oppius, Matius, Postumius plane ita faciunt, ut me unice diligant. Quod² si mihi per me efficiendum

dum fuisset, non me poeniteret pro ratione temporum ita esse molitum. Sed nihil est a me insertum temporis causa. Veteres mihi necessitudines cum his omnibus intercedunt, quibuscum ego agere de te non destiti. Principem tamen habuimus Pansam, tui studiosissimum, mei cupidum, qui valeret apud illum non minus auctoritate, quam gratia. Cimber³ autem Tillius mihi plane satisfecit. Valent tamen apud Caesarem non tam ambitiosae rogationes, quam necessariae: quam quia Cimber habebat, plus valuit quam pro ullo alio valere potuisset. Diploma statim non est datum, quod mirifica est improbitas in quibusdam, qui tulissent acerbius veniam tibi dari, quem illi appellant tubam⁴ belli civilis: multaque ita dicunt, quasi non gaudeant id bellum incidisse. Quare visum est occultius agendum, neque ullo modo divulgandum, de te jam esse perfectum. Sed id erit perbreve: nec dubito, quin, legente te has literas, confecta jam res futura sit. Pansa quidem mihi, gravis homo⁵ et certus, non solum confirmavit, verum etiam recepit, perceleriter se ablaturum diploma. Mihi tamen placuit haec ad te perscribi. Minus enim te firmum sermo Epuleiae tuae, lacrymaeque Ampiae declarabant, quam significant tuae literae: atque illae arbitrabantur, cum a te abessent

ipsae, multo in graviore te cura futurum. Quare magno opere putavi, angoris et doloris tui levandi causa, pro certis ad te ea quae essent certa⁶ perscribi. Scis, me antea sic solitum esse scribere ad te, magis ut consolarer fortem virum atque sapientem, quam ut exploratam spem salutis ostenderem, nisi quam ab ipsa republica, cum hic ardor restinctus esset, sperari oportere censerem. Recordare tuas literas quibus et magnum animum mihi semper ostendisti, et ad omnes casus ferendos constantem ac paratum: quod ego non mirabar, cum recordarer, te et a primis temporibus aetatis in republica esse versatum, et tuos⁷ magistratus in ipsa discrimina incidisse salutis fortunarumque communium: et in hoc ipsum bellum esse ingressum, non solum ut victor, beatus; sed etiam, si ita accidisset, victus, ut sapiens esses. Deinde cum studium tuum consumas in virorum fortium factis memoriae prodendis, considerare debes, nihil tibi esse committendum, quamobrem eorum quos laudas, te non simillimum praebeas. Sed haec oratio magis esset apta ad illa tempora, quae jam effugisti. Nunc vero tantum te para ad haec nobiscum ferenda: quibus ego si quam medicinam invenirem, tibi quoque eandem traderem. Sed est unum perfugium, doctrina ac literae, quibus semper usi sumus: quae secundis rebus delecta-

delectationem modo habere videbantur, nunc vero etiam salutem. Sed, ut ad initium revertar, cave dubites, quin omnia de salute ac reditu tuo perfecta sint. Vale.

EPISTOLA XIV.

CICERO LIGARIO.

ETSI¹ tali tuo tempore me aut consolandi aut juvandi tui causa scribere ad te aliquid pro nostra amicitia oportebat, tamen adhuc id non feceram: quia neque lenire videbar oratione neque levare posse dolorem tuum. Postea vero quam magnam spem habere coepi, fore ut te brevi tempore incolumem haberemus; facere non potui quin tibi et sententiam et voluntatem declararem meam. Primum igitur scribam, quod intelligo et perspicio, non fore in te Caesarem duriorem. Nam et res eum quotidie, et dies, et opinio hominum, et, ut mihi videtur, etiam sua natura mitiorem facit: idque cum de reliquis sentio, tum de te etiam audio ex familiarissimis ejus, quibus ego ex eo tempore, quo primum ex Africa nuntius venit, supplicare una cum² fratribus tuis non destiti. Quorum quidem et virtus et pietas et amor in te singularis, et assidua et perpetua cura salutis tuae tantum proficit, ut nihil sit, quod non ipsum Caesarem tributurum existimem. Sed si tardius fit quam volumus; ma-

gnis occupationibus ejus, a quo omnia petuntur, aditus ad eum difficiliores fuerunt : et simul Africanae causae iratior, diutius velle videtur eos habere sollicitos, a quibus se putat diuturnioribus esse molestiis conflictatum. Sed hoc ipsum intelligimus eum quotidie remissius et placatius ferre. Quare mihi crede, et memoriae manda, me tibi id affirmasse, te in istis molestiis diutius non futurum. Quum quid sentirem, exposui; quid vellem tua causa, re potius declarabo quam oratione : et, si tantum possem, quantum in ea republica, de qua ita sum meritus, ut tu existimas, posse debebam, ne tu quidem in istis incommodis esses. Eadem enim causa opes meas fregit, quae tuam salutem in discrimen adduxit. Sed tamen, quidquid imago veteris meae dignitatis, quidquid reliquiae gratiae valebunt; studium, consilium, opera, gratia, fides mea, nullo loco deerit tuis optimis fratribus. Tu fac habeas fortem animum, quem semper habuisti, primum ob eas causas, quas scripsi; deinde, quod ea de republica semper voluisti atque sensisti, ut non modo nunc secunda sperare debeas; sed etiam si omnia adversa essent, tamen conscientia et factorum et consiliorum tuorum, quaecunque acciderent, fortissimo et maximo animo ferre deberes. Vale.

EPISTOLA XV.

CICERO LIGARIO.

ME¹ scito omnem laborem, omnem operam, curam, studium in tua salute consumere. Nam cum te semper maxime dilexi, tum fratrum tuorum, quos aequae atque te summa benevolentia sum complexus, singularis pietas amorque fraternus, nullum me patitur officii erga te, studiique munus aut tempus praetermittere. Sed quae faciam fecerimque pro te, ex illorum te literis, quam ex meis, malo cognoscere. Quid autem sperem, aut confidam, et exploratum habeam de salute tua, id tibi a me declarari volo. Nam si quisquam est timidus in magnis periculosisque rebus, semperque magis adversos rerum exitus metuens, quam sperans secundos, is ego sum : et si hoc vitium est, eo me non carere confiteor. Ego idem tamen, cum a. d. v. kalendas intercalares² priores, rogatu fratrum tuorum venissem mane ad Caesarem atque omnem adeundi et conveniendi illius indignitatem et molestiam pertulissem : cum fratres et propinqui tui jacerent ad pedes, et ego essem locutus, quae causa, quae tuum tempus postulabat : non solum ex oratione Caesaris, quae sane mollis et liberalis fuit ; sed etiam ex oculis et vultu ; ex multis praeterea signis, quae facilius

perspicere potui, quam scribere, hanc in opinionem discessi, ut mihi tua salus dubia non esset. Quamobrem fac animo magno fortique sis: et, si turbidissima sapienter ferebas, tranquilliora laete feras. Ego tamen tuis rebus sic adero, ut difficillimis: neque Caesari solum, sed etiam amicis ejus omnibus, quos mihi amicissimos esse cognovi, pro te, sicut adhuc feci, libentissime supplicabo. Vale.

EPISTOLA XVI.

CICERO BASILLO S.

TIBI gratulor, mihi gaudeo, te amo, tua tueor. A te amari, et quid agas, quidque agatur, certior fieri volo. Vale.

EPISTOLA XVII.

BITHYNICUS CICERONI S.

SI mihi tecum non et multae et justae causae amicitiae privatim essent, repeterem initia amicitiae ex parentibus nostris; quod faciendum iis existimo, qui paternam amicitiam nullis ipsi officiis prosecuti sunt. Itaque contentus ero nostra ipsorum amicitia, cujus fiducia peto a te, ut absentem me, quibuscunque in rebus opus fuerit, tueare, si nullum officium tuum apud me intermoriturum existimas. Vale.

EPIS-

EPISTOLA XVIII.

M. CICERO BITHYNICO S.

CUM¹ caeterarum rerum causa cupio esse aliquando rempublicam constitutam; tum velim mihi credas accedere id etiam, quo magis expetam, promissum tuum, quo in literis uteris. Scribis enim, si ita sit, te mecum esse victurum. Gratissima mihi tua voluntas est, facisque nihil alienum necessitudine nostra, judiciisque patris tui de me, summi viri. Nam sic habeto, beneficiorum magnitudine eos, qui temporibus valuerunt, aut valeant, conjunctiores tecum esse quam me, necessitudine neminem. Quamobrem grata mihi est et memoria tua nostrae conjunctionis, et ejus etiam augendae voluntas. Vale.

EPISTOLA XIX.

CICERO LEPTAE.

SIMUL¹ accepi a Seleuco tuo literas, statim quaesivi e Balbo per² codicillos, quid esset in lege. Rescripsit, Eos qui facerent praeconium, vetari esse in decurionibus; qui fecissent, non vetari. Quare bono animo sint et tui et mei familiares. Neque enim erat ferendum, cum qui hodie³ haruspicinam facerent, in senatu Romae legerentur, eos qui aliquando praeconium fecissent, in municipiis decuriones esse non licere.

De Hispaniis novi nihil. Magnum tamen exercitum Pompeium habere constat. Nam Caesar ipse ad nos misit exemplum Paciaeci literarum, in quo erat, illi undecim esse⁴ legiones. Scripserat etiam Messala Q. Salassio, P. Curtium fratrem ejus, jussu Pompeii, inspectante exercitu, interfectum, quod consensisset cum Hispanis quibusdam, si in oppidum nescio quod Pompeius rei frumentariae causa venisset, eum comprehendere, ad Caesaremque deducere. De negotio tuo, quod sponsor es pro Pompeio, si Galba consponsor tuus redierit, homo in re familiari non parum diligens, non desinam cum illo communicare, si quid expediri possit: quod videbatur mihi ille confidere. Oratorem⁵ meum tantopere a te probari vehementer gaudeo. Mihi quidem sic persuadeo, me quidquid habuerim judicii de dicendo, in illum librum contulisse. Qui si est talis, qualem tibi videri scribis, ego quoque aliquid sum: si aliter, non recuso, quin quantum de illo libro, tantundem de mei judicii fama detrahatur. Leptam nostrum cupio delectari jam talibus scriptis. Et si abest maturitas aetatis, jam tamen personare aures ejus hujusmodi vocibus non est inutile. Me Romae tenuit omnino Tulliae meae partus. Sed cum ea, quemadmodum spero, satis firma sit, teneor tamen, dum a⁶ Dolabellae procuratoribus exigam primam pensionem: et, meher-

mehercule, non tam sum peregrinator jam, quam solebam. Aedificia ⁷ mea me delectabant et otium. Domus est, quae nulli villarum mearum cedat; otium omni desertissima regione majus. Itaque ne literae quidem meae impediuntur, in quibus sine ulla interpellatione versor. Quare, ut arbitror, prius hic te nos, quam istic tu nos videbis. Lepta suavissimus ediscat ⁸ Hesiodum: et habeat in ore, Τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδῶτα.

EPISTOLA XX.

CICERO LEPTAE S.D.

MACULAM ¹ officio functum esse gaudeo. Ejus Falernum mihi semper idoneum visum est diversorio, si modo tecti satis est ad comitatum nostrum recipiendum. Caeteroqui mihi locus non displicet, nec ea re Petrinum ² tuum deferam. Nam et villa, et amoenitas illa, commorationis est, non diversorii. De curatione aliqua munerum ³ regionum cum Oppio locutus sum. Nam Balbum postea, quam tu es profectus non vidi; tantis pedum doloribus afficitur, ut se conveniri nolit. Omnino de tota re, ut mihi videtur, sapientius faceres, si non curares: quod enim eo labore assequi vis, nullo modo assequere. Tanta est enim intimorum multitudo, ut ex his aliquis potius effluat, quam novo sit aditus, praesertim qui nihil afferat praeter operam: in
qua

qua ille se dedisse beneficium putabit, si modo ipsum sciet, non accepisse. Sed tamen aliquid videbimus, in quo sit species. Aliter quidem non modo non appetendum, sed etiam fugiendum puto. Ego me Asturae diutius arbitror commoraturum, quoad ille quandoque veniat. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXI.

CICERO TORANIO S.

ETSI, ¹cum haec ad te scribebam, aut appropinquare exitus hujus calamitosissimi belli, aut jam aliquid actum, et confectum videbatur, tamen quotidie commemorabam, te unum in tanto exercitu mihi fuisse assensorem, et me tibi: solosque nos vidisse, quantum esset in eo bello mali, in quo, spe pacis exclusa, ipsa victoria futura esset acerbissima, quae aut interitum allatura esset, si victus esses, aut si vicisses, servitutem. Itaque ego, quem tum fortes illi viri et sapientes, Domitii et ²Lentuli, timidum esse dicebant, (eram plane: timebam enim, ne evenirent ea quae acciderunt,) idem nunc nihil timeo, et ad omnem eventum paratus sum. Cum aliquid videbatur caveri posse, tum id negligi dolebam. Nunc vero, everfis omnibus rebus, cum consilio profici nihil possit, una ratio videtur, quicquid evenerit, ferre moderate: praesertim cum

cum omnium rerum mors sit extremum: et mihi sim conscius, me, quoad licuerit, dignitati reipublicae consuluisse: et, hac amissa, salutem retinere voluisse. Haec scripsi, non ut de me ipse dicerem, sed ut tu, qui conjunctissima fuisti mecum et sententia et voluntate, eadem cogitares. Magna enim consolatio est, cum recordare, etiam si secus acciderit, te tamen recte verique sensisse. Atque utinam liceat aliquando aliquo reipublicae statu nos frui, inter nosque conferre sollicitudines nostras, quas pertulimus tum, cum timidi putabamur, quia dicebamus ea futura, quae facta sunt. De tuis rebus nihil esse quod timeas, praeter universae reipublicae interitum, tibi confirmo. De me autem sic velim judices, quantum ego possim, me tibi, saluti tuae liberisque tuis summo cum studio praesto semper futurum. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXII.

CICERO TORANIO S.

DEDERAM ¹triduo antepueris Cn. Plancii literas ad te. Eo nunc ero brevior, teque, ut antea consolabar, hoc tempore monebo. Nihil puto tibi esse utilius, quam ibidem opperiri, quoad scire possis quid tibi agendum sit. Nam praeter navigationis longae et hiemalis et minime portuosae periculum, quod vitaveris; ne illud

lud quidem non quantivis, subito, cum certi aliquid audieris, te istinc posse proficisci. Nihil est cur² adventibus te offerre gestias. Multa praeterea metuo, quae cum Cilone nostro communicavi. Quid multa? Loco opportuniore in his malis nullo esse potuisti, ex quo te, quocunque opus erit, facillime et expeditissime conferas. Quod si recipiet³ ille se, ad tempus aderis. Sin, cum multa accidere possunt, aliqua res eum vel impedit, vel morabitur, tu ibi eris, ubi omnia scire possis. Hoc mihi prorsus valde placet. De reliquo, ut te saepe per literas hortatus sum, ita velim tibi persuadeas, te in hac causa nihil habere, quod tibi timendum sit praeter communem casum civitatis: qui etsi est gravissimus, tamen ita viximus, et id aetatis jam sumus, ut omnia, quae non nostra culpa nobis accidunt, fortiter ferre debeamus. Hic tui omnes valent, summaque pietate te desiderant et diligunt et colunt. Tu et cura ut valeas, et te istinc ne temere commoveas. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXIII.

CICERO DOMITIO.

NON¹ ea res me deterruit, quo minus, postea quam in Italiam venisti, literas ad te mitterem, quod tu ad me nullas miseris: sed quia nec quid tibi pollicerer, ipse egens rebus
omni-

omnibus, nec quid suaderem, cum mihi metipsum consilium deesset, nec quid consolationis afferrem in tantis malis, reperiēbam. Haec quanquam nihilo meliora sunt, nunc etiam atque etiam multo desperatiora, tamen inanes esse meas literas, quam nullas malui. Ego si te intelligerem plus ² conatum esse suscipere reipublicae causa muneris, quam quantum praestare potuisses, tamen, quibuscunque rebus possem, ad eam conditionem te vivendi, quae daretur, quaeque esset, hortarer. Sed cum consilii tui bene fortiterque suscepti eum tibi finem statueris, quem ipsa fortuna terminum nostrarum contentionum esse voluisset, oro obtestorque te pro vetere nostra conjunctione ac necessitudine, proque summa mea in te benevolentia, et tua in me pari, te ut nobis, parenti, coniugi, tuisque omnibus, quibus es fuisti que semper carissimus, salvum conserves, incolumitati tuae, tuorumque, qui ex te pendent, consulas: quae didicisti, quaeque ab adolescentia pulcherrime a sapientissimis viris tradita, memoria et scientia comprehendisti, his hoc tempore utare: quos conjunctos summa benevolentia plurimisque officiis amisisti, eorum desiderium si non aequo animo, at forti feras. Ego quid possim nescio, vel potius me parum posse sentio: illud tamen tibi polliceor, me, quaecunque saluti dignitatisque tuae conducere arbitrabor, tanto studio esse

esse facturum, quanto semper tu et studio et officio in meis rebus fuisti. Hanc meam voluntatem ad matrem tuam, optimam foeminam tuoque amantissimam, detuli. Si quid ad me scripseris, ita faciam ut te velle intellexero. Sin autem tu minus scripseris, ego tamen omnia quae tibi utilia esse arbitrabor, summo studio, diligenterque curabo. Vale.





MARCI
TULLII CICERONIS
EPISTOLARUM
AD FAMILIARES
LIBER VII.

EPISTOLA I.
M. CICERO M. MARIO S.D.

SI te dolor aliqui corporis, aut infirmitas va-
letudinis tuae tenuit, quo minus ad ludos
venires, fortunae magis tribuo quam sapientiae
tuae. Sin haec, quae caeteri mirantur, contem-
nenda duxisti, et cum per valetudinem posses,
venire tamen noluisti; utrumque laetor, et sine
dolore corporis te fuisse, et animo valuisse, cum
ea,

ea, quae sine causa mirantur alii, neglexeris: modo ut tibi constiterit fructus otii tui, quo quidem tibi perfrui mirifice licuit, cum esses in ista amoenitate pene solus relictus. Neque tamen dubito quin tu ex illo cubiculo tuo, ex quo tibi ²Stabianum perforasti, et patefecisti Seianum, per eos dies matutina tempora lectiunculis consumseris: cum illi interea qui te istuc reliquerunt, spectarent communes mimos semisomni. Reliquas vero partes diei tu consumebas his delectationibus, quas tibi ipse ad arbitrium tuum compararas: nobis autem erant ea perpetienda quae scilicet Sp.³ Maecius probavisset. Omnino, si quaeris, ludi apparatissimi, sed non tui stomachi. Conjecturam enim facio de meo. Nam primum honoris causa in scenam redierant ii, quos ego honoris causa de scena decessisse arbitrabar. Deliciae vero tuae, noster Aesopus⁴ ejusmodi fuit, ut ei desinere per omnes homines liceret. Is jurare cum coepisset, vox eum defecit in illo loco, Si ⁵sciens fallo. Quid tibi ego alia narrem? nosti enim reliquos ludos. Quid? ne id quidem leporis habuerunt, quod solent mediocres ludi. Apparatus enim spectatio tollebat omnem hilaritatem: quo quidem apparatu non dubito quin animo aequissimo carueris. Quid enim delectationis habent sexcenti muli in ⁶Clytaemnestra?

aut

aut in Equo Trojano craterarum tria millia?
aut armatura varia peditatus et equitatus in ali-
qua pugna? quae popularem admirationem ha-
buerunt, delectationem tibi nullam attulissent.
Quod si tu per eos dies operam dedisti Protoge-
ni tuo, dummodo is tibi quidvis potius, quam
orationes meas legerit; nae tu haud paulo plus,
quam quisquam nostrum delectationis habuisti.
Non enim te puto Graecos aut ⁷ Ošcos ludos de-
siderasse: praesertim cum Ošcos ludos vel in se-
natu nostro spectare possis: Graecos ita non ames,
ut ne ad villam quidem tuam via Graeca ire so-
leas. Nam quid ego te athletas putem desiderare,
qui ⁸ gladiatores contemseris? in quibus ipse Pom-
peius confitetur se et operam et oleum perdidisse.
Reliquae sunt venationes binae per dies quinque,
magnificae, nemo negat. Sed quae potest homi-
ni esse polito delectatio, cum aut homo imbecil-
lus a valentissima bestia laniatur, aut praeclara
bestia venabulo transverberatur? quae tamen, si
videnda sunt, saepe vidisti: neque nos, qui haec
spectavimus, quidquam novi vidimus. Extremus
elephantorum dies fuit, in quo admiratio ma-
gna vulgi atque turbae, delectatio nulla exstitit.
Quin etiam misericordia quaedam consecuta est,
atque ⁹ opinio ejusmodi, esse quandam illi belluae
cum genere humano societatem. His ego tamen

Q

diebus,

diebus, ludis scenicis, ne forte videar tibi non modo beatus, sed liber omnino fuisse, dirupi me pene in iudicio¹ Galli Caninii, familiaris tui. Quod si tam facilem populum haberem quam Aesopus habuit, libenter mehercule artem desinerem; tecumque, et cum similibus nostri viverem. Nam me cum antea taedebat, cum et aetas et ambitio me hortabantur, et licebat denique, quem nolebam, non defendere; tum vero hoc tempore vita nulla est. Neque enim fructum ullum laboris ex his exspecto: et cogor nonnunquam homines non optime de me meritos, rogatu eorum, qui bene meriti sunt, defendere. Itaque quaero causas omnes aliquando vivendi arbitrato meo, teque et istam rationem otii tui et laudo vehementer et probo: quodque nos minus intervisis, hoc fero animo aequiore, quod, si Romae esses, tamen neque nos lepore tuo, neque te, si quis est in me, meo frui liceret, propter molestissimas occupationes meas: quibus si me relaxaro, nam ut plane exsolvam, non postulo, te ipsum, qui multos annos nihil aliud commentaris, docebo profecto, quid sit humaniter vivere. Tu modo istam imbecillitatem valetudinis tuae sustenta et tuere, ut facis, ut nostras villas obire, et mecum simul lecticula concurrere possis. Haec ad te pluribus verbis scripsi, quam
soleo,

soleo, non otii abundantia, sed amoris erga te, quod me quadam epistola subinvitaras, si memoria tenes, ut ad te aliquid hujusmodi scriberem, quo minus te praetermisisset ludos poeniteret. Quod si affecutus sum, gaudeo: sin minus, hoc me tamen consolor, quod posthac ad ludos venies, nosque vides, neque in epistolis relinques meis spem aliquam delectationis tuae. Vale.

EPISTOLA II.

M.T.C. M. MARIO S.D.

MANDATUM¹ tuum curabo diligenter. Sed homo acutus ei mandasti potissimum, cui expediret illud venire quam plurimo. Sed eo vidisti multum, quod praefinisti, quo ne pluris emerem. Quod si mihi permisisses, qui meus amor in te est, confecissem cum cohaeredibus. Nunc, cum tuum pretium novi, licitatore potius apponam, quam illud minoris veneat. Sed de joco satis est. Tuum negotium agam, sicuti debeo, diligenter. De Bursa² te gaudere certo scio: sed nimis verecunde mihi gratularis. Putas enim, ut scribis, propter hominis sordes minus me magnam illam laetitiam putare. Credas mihi velim, magis me iudicio hoc, quam morte inimici³ laetatum. Primum enim iudicio malo, quam gladio; deinde gloria potius amici, quam

calamitate. In primisque me delectavit, tantum studium bonorum in me exstitisse contra incredibilem contentionem clarissimi et potentissimi viri. Postremo, vix verisimile fortasse videatur, oderam multo pejus hunc, quam illum ipsum Clodium. Illum enim oppugnaram, hunc defenderam: et ille, cum omnis respublica in meo capite discrimen esset habitura, magnum quiddam spectavit: nec sua sponte, sed eorum auxilio, qui me stante stare non poterant: hic simiolus, animi causa, me in quem invehetur delegerat: persuaeratque nonnullis invidis meis, se in me emissarium semper fore. Quamobrem valde jubeo gaudere te. Magna res gesta est. Nunquam ulli fortiores cives fuerunt, quam qui ausi sunt eum contra tantas opes ejus, a quo ipsi lecti judices erant, condemnare. Quod fecissent nunquam, nisi iis dolori meus fuisset dolor. Nos hic in multitudine, et celebritate judiciorum, et novis legibus ita distinemur, ut quotidie vota faciamus, ne ⁴ intercaletur, ut quam primum te videre possimus. Vale.

EPISTOLA III.

M. CICERO M. MARIO S.D.

PERSAEPE¹ mihi cogitanti de communibus
 miseriis, in quibus tot annos versamur, et,
 ut video, versabimur, solet in mentem venire il-
 lius temporis, quo proxime fuimus una: quin
 etiam ipsum diem memoria teneo. Nam a.d.
 III Idus Maias, Lentulo,² et Marcello consuli-
 bus, cum in Pompeianum vesperi venissem, tu
 mihi sollicito animo praesto fuisti. Sollicitum
 autem te habebat cogitatio, cum officii, tum etiam
 periculi mei. Si manerem in Italia, verebaret ne
 officio deessem: si proficiscerer ad bellum, pe-
 riculum te meum commovebat. Quo tempore
 vidisti profecto me quoque ita conturbatum, ut
 non explicarem, quid esset optimum factu. Pu-
 dori tamen malui famaeque³ cedere, quam sa-
 lutis meae rationem ducere. Cujus me mei fa-
 cti poenituit, non tam propter periculum meum,
 quam propter vitia multa, quae ibi offendi, quo
 veneram. Primum neque magnas copias, neque
 bellicosas: deinde, extra ducem paucosque prae-
 terea, de principibus loquor, reliqui primum in
 ipso bello rapaces: deinde in oratione ita crude-
 les, ut ipsam victoriam horrerem: maximum au-
 tem aes alienum amplissimorum virorum. Quid

quaeris? nihil boni praeter causam. Quae cum vidissem, desperans victoriam, primum coepi suadere pacem, cuius fueram semper auctor: deinde, cum ab ea sententia Pompeius valde abhorreret, suadere institui, ut bellum ⁴ duceret. Hoc interdum probabat, et in ea sententia videbatur fore, et fuisset fortasse, nisi quadam ex pugna coepisset suis militibus confidere. Ex eo tempore vir ille summus nullus imperator fuit. Signa tirone et collectitio exercitu cum legionibus robustissimis ⁵ contulit. Victus turpissime, amissis etiam castris, solus fugit. Hunc ego belli mihi finem feci, nec putavi, cum integri pares non fuisset, fractos superiores fore. Discessi ⁶ ab eo bello, in quo aut in acie cadendum fuit, aut in aliquas insidias incidendum, aut deveniendum in victoris manus, aut ad Jubam confugiendum, aut capiendus tanquam ex filio locus, aut consciscenda mors voluntaria. Certe nihil fuit praeterea, si te victori nolles aut non audes committere. Ex omnibus autem iis, quae dixi, incommodis nihil tolerabilius ex filio, praefertim innocenti, ubi nulla adjuncta est turpitudine: addo etiam, cum ea urbe careas, in qua nihil sit, quod videre possis sine dolore. Ego cum meis, si quidquam nunc cujusquam est, etiam in meis esse malui. Quae acciderunt, omnia dixi futura,

tura. Veni domum, non quo optima vivendi conditio esset: sed tamen, si esset aliqua forma reipublicae tanquam in patria ut essem: si nulla, tanquam in exilio. Mortem mihi cur consciscerem causa nulla visa est, cur optarem multae causae. Vetus est enim, Ubi non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere. Sed tamen vacare culpa magnum est solatium: praesertim cum habeam duas res, quibus me sustentem, optimarum artium scientiam, et maximarum rerum gloriam: quarum altera mihi vivo nunquam eripietur, altera ne mortuo quidem. Haec ad te scripsi verbosius, et tibi molestus fui, quod te cum mei, tum reipublicae cognovi amantissimum. Notum tibi omne meum consilium esse volui, ut primum scires, me nunquam voluisse plus quemquam posse, quam universam rempublicam. Postea autem quam alicujus culpa tantum valeret unus, ut obsisti non posset, me voluisse pacem. Amisso exercitu, et eo duce, in quo spes fuerat uno, me voluisse etiam reliquis omnibus; postquam non potuerim, mihi ipsi finem fecisse belli: nunc autem, si haec civitas est, civem esse me; si non, exulem esse non incommodiore loco, quam si me Rhodum, aut Mitylenas contulisssem. Haec tecum coram malueram, sed quia longius fiebat volui per literas eadem: ut habe-

res quid diceres, si quando in vituperatores meos incidisses. Sunt enim, qui, cum meus interitus nihil fuerit reipublicae profuturus, criminis loco putent esse, quod vivam. Quibus ego certo scio non videri satis multos perisse: qui si me audissent, quamvis iniqua pace, honeste tamen viverent. Armis enim inferiores, non causa fuissent. Habes epistolam verbosiores fortasse, quam velles: quod tibi ita videri putabo, nisi mihi longiorem remiseris. Ego, si quae volo expediero, brevi tempore te, ut spero, videbo. Vale.

EPISTOLA IV.

M.T.C. M. MARIO S.D.

ANTE diem ix. kal. in Cumanum¹ veni cum Libone tuo, vel nostro potius. In Pompeianum statim cogito. Sed faciam ante te certiore. Te cum semper valere cupio, tum certe, dum hic sumus. Quare si quod constitutum² cum podagra habes, fac ut in alium diem differas. Cura igitur ut valeas: et me hoc biduo aut triduo exspecta. Vale.

EPISTOLA V.

CICERO CAESARI IMPER. S.D.

VIDE ¹, quam mihi persuaferim, te me esse alterum, non modo in his rebus, quae ad me ipsum, sed etiam in iis, quae ad meos pertinent. C. Trebatium cogitaram, quocunque² exirem, mecum ducere, ut eum meis omnibus studiis, beneficiis quam ornatissimum domum reducerem. Sed postea quam et Pompeii commoratio diuturnior erat, quam putaram, et mea quaedam tibi non ignota dubitatio, aut impedire profectionem meam videbatur, aut certe tardare, vide, quid mihi sumserim. Coepi velle ea Trebatium expectare a te, quae sperasset a me. Neque mehercule minus ei prolixè de tua voluntate promisi, quam eram solitus de mea polliceri. Casus vero mirificus quidam intervenit, quasi vel testis opinionis meae, vel sponsor humanitatis tuae. Nam cum de hoc ipso Trebatio cum Balbo nostro loquerer accuratius domi meae, literae mihi dantur a te, quibus in extremis scriptum erat, “ M.³ ORFIUM, quem mihi commendas, vel regem Galliae faciam, vel hunc “ Leptae delega. Si vis tu, ad me alium mitte, “ quem ornem.” Sustulimus manus et ego et Balbus: tanta fuit opportunitas; ut illud nescio quod

quod non fortuitum, sed divinum videretur. Mitto igitur ad te Trebatium, atque ita mitto, ut initio mea sponte, post autem invitatu tuo mittendum duxerim. Hunc, mi Caesar, sic velim omni tua comitate complectare, ut omnia quae per me possis adduci ut in meos conferre velis, in unum hunc conferas: de quo tibi homine haec spondeo non illo veteri⁴ verbo meo, quod, cum ad te de Milone scripisssem, jure lusisti: sed more Romano, quo modo homines non inepti loquuntur: probiorem hominem, meliorem virum, pudentiorum esse neminem. Accedit etiam, quod familiam⁵ ducit, in jure civili singularis memoria, summa scientia. Huic ego neque tribunatum, neque praefecturam, neque ullius beneficium certum nomen peto: benevolentiam tuam et liberalitatem peto: neque impedio, quo minus, si tibi ita placuerit, etiam hisce eum ornes gloriolae insignibus. Totum denique hominem tibi ita trado de manu, ut aiunt, in manum tuam istam, et victoria et fide praestantem. Simus enim putidiusculi, quam per te vix licet: verum, ut video, licebit. Cura, ut valeas, et me, ut amas, ama. Vale.

EPISTOLA VI.

CICERO TREBATIO S.D.

IN¹ omnibus meis epistolis, quas ad Caesarem aut ad Balbum mitto, legitima quaedam est accessio commendationis tuae, nec ea vulgaris, sed cum aliquo insigni indicio meae erga te benevolentiae. Tu modo ineptias istas, et desideria urbis et urbanitatis depone: et quo consilio profectus es, id assiduitate et virtute consequere. Hoc tibi tam ignoscemus nos amici, quam ignoverunt Medae, “ quae Corinthum arcem al-
“ tam habebant matronae opulentae, optimates:” quibus illa manibus gypsatissimis² persuasit, ne sibi vitio illae verterent, quod abesset a patria.

Nam multi suam rem bene gessere, et poplicam, patria procul.

Multi, qui domi aetatem agerent, propterea sunt improbat.

Quo in numero tu certe fuisses, nisi te extrusissemus. Sed plura scribemus alias. Tu³ qui caeteris cavere didicisti, in⁴ Britannia ne ab effedariis decipiaris caveto: et, quando Medeam agere coepi, illud semper memento, “ Qui ipse sibi
“ sapiens prodesse non quit, nequidquam sapit.”
Cura ut valeas.

E P I S-

EPISTOLA VII.

CICERO TREBATIO.

EGO ¹ te commendare non desisto: sed quid proficiam, ex te scire cupio. Spem maximam habeo in Balbo: ad quem de te diligentissime et saepissime scribo. Illud soleo mirari, non me toties accipere tuas literas, quoties a Q. mihi fratre afferuntur. In ² Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri neque argenti. Id si ita est, essedum aliquod suadeo capias, et ad nos quam primum recurras. Sin autem sine Britannia tamen assequi, quod volumus, possumus; perface ut sis in familiaribus Caesaris. Multum te in eo frater adjuvabit meus, multum Balbus: sed, mihi crede, tuus pudor et labor plurimum. Imperatorem liberalissimum, aetatem opportunissimam, commendationem certe singularem habes: ut tibi unum timendum sit, ne ipse tibi defuisse videre.

EPISTOLA VIII.

CICERO TREBATIO.

SCRIPSIT ¹ ad me Caesar perhumaniter, nondum te sibi satis esse familiarem propter occupationes suas, sed certe fore: cui quidem ego rescripsi, quam mihi gratum esset futurum, si quam plurimum in te studii, officii, liberalitatis
suae

suae contulisset. Sed ex tuis literis cognovi prae-
 properam quandam festinationem tuam, et simul
 sum admiratus, cur tribunatus² commoda, demto
 praesertim labore militiae, contemseris. Querar
 cum Vacerra et Manilio: nam Cornelio nihil au-
 deo dicere, cujus tu periculo stultus es, cum te
 ab eo sapere didicisse profiteris. Quin tu urges
 istam occasionem et facultatem, qua melior nun-
 quam reperietur? Quod scribis de illo Preciano
 jureconsulto, ego te ei non desino commendare.
 Scribit enim ipse mihi, te sibi gratias agere de-
 bere. De eo quid sit, cura ut sciam. Ego vestras
 literas Britannicas exspecto. Vale.

EPISTOLA IX.

CICERO TREBATIO S.D.

EX¹ tuis literis, et Quinto Fratri gratias egi,
 et te aliquando collaudare possum, quod
 jam videris certa aliqua in sententia constitisse.
 Nam primorum mensium literis tuis vehementer
 commovebar, quod mihi interdum, pace tua di-
 xerim, levis² in urbis urbanitatisque desiderio,
 interdum piger, interdum timidus in labore mi-
 litari, saepe autem etiam, quod a te alienissimum
 est, subimpudens videbare. Tanquam enim syn-
 grapham ad imperatorem, non epistolam attu-
 lisses, sic, pecunia ablata, domum redire prope-
 rabas:

rabas : nec tibi in mentem veniebat, eos ipsos qui cum syngraphis venissent Alexandriam, nummum adhuc nullum auferre potuisse. Ego, si mei commodi rationem ducerem, te mecum esse maxime vellem. Non enim mediocri afficiebar vel voluptate ex consuetudine nostra, vel utilitate ex consilio atque opera tua. Sed cum te ex adolescentia tua in amicitiam et fidem meam contulisses, semper te non modo tuendum mihi, sed etiam augendum atque ornandum putavi. Itaque quoad opinatus sum me in provinciam exiturum, quae ad te ultro attulerim meminisse te credo. Postea quam mea mutata ratio est, cum viderem me a Caesare honorificentissime tractari et unice diligi, hominisque liberalitatem incredibilem et singularem fidem nossem : sic ei te commendavi et tradidi, ut gravissime diligentissimeque potui. Quod ille ita et accepit, et mihi saepe literis significavit, et tibi et verbis et re ostendit, mea commendatione sese valde esse commotum. Hunc tu virum nactus, si me aut sapere aliquid, aut velle tua causa putas, ne dimiseris : et, si quae te forte res aliquando offenderit, cum ille aut occupatione aut difficultate tardior tibi erit visus, perferto, et ultima exspectato, quae ego tibi et jucunda et honesta praestabo. Pluribus te hortari non debeo. Tantum moneo,

moneo, neque amicitiae confirmandae clarissimi ac liberalissimi viri: neque uberioris provinciae, neque aetatis magis idoneum tempus, si hoc amiseris, te esse ullum unquam reperturum. Hoc, quemadmodum vos scribere soletis in vestris libris, idem Q. Cornelio videbatur. In Britanniam te profectum non esse gaudeo, quod et labore caruisti, et ego te de rebus illis non audiam. Ubi sis hibernaturus, et qua spe, aut conditione, perscribas ad me velim.

EPISTOLA X.

M. CICERO TREBATIO.

JAMDIU ¹ignoro, quid agas. Nihil enim scribis: neque ego ad te his duobus mensibus scripseram: quia cum Q. Fratre meo non eras. Quo mitterem, aut cui darem, nesciebam. Cupio scire, quid agas, et ubi sis hiematurus. Equidem velim cum Caesare: sed ad eum propter ²eius occupationes nihil sum ausus scribere. Ad Balbum tamen scripsi. Tu deesse tibi noli. Serius potius ad nos, dum plenior. Quod huc properes, nihil est, praesertim Vacerra mortuo. Sed tibi consilium non deest. Quid constitueris cupio scire. Cn. Octavius³, an Cn. Cornelius, tuus quidem familiaris, summo genere natus, terrae filius, is me, quia scit tuum familiarem esse,

esse, crebro ad coenam invitat. Adhuc non potuit perducere: sed mihi tamen gratum est. Vale.

EPISTOLA XI.

M. CICERO TREBATIO S.D.

LEGI¹ tuas literas, ex quibus intellexi te Caesari nostro valde jurisconsultum videri. Est quod gaudeas, te in ista loca venisse, ubi aliquid sapere viderere. Quod si in Britanniam quoque profectus esses, profecto nemo in illa tanta insula peritior te fuisset. Verumtamen, rideamus licet, sum enim a te invitatus, subinvideo tibi, ultro te etiam arcessitum ab eo, ad quem caeteri non propter superbiam ejus, sed propter occupationem adspirare non possunt. Sed tu in ista epistola nihil mihi scripsisti de tuis rebus, quae mehercule mihi non minori curae sunt, quam meae. Valde metuo ne frigeas² in hibernis: quamobrem camino luculento utendum censeo. Idem et Mucio et Manilio placebat, praesertim qui sagis non abundares: quanquam vos nunc istic satis³ calere audio. Quo quidem nuntio valde mehercule de te timueram. Sed tu in re militari multo es cautior, quam in advocationibus, qui neque in Oceano natare volueris studiosissimus⁴ homo natandi, neque spectare effedarios, quem antea ne⁵ andabatam quidem defraudare poterat-

poteramus. Sed jam satis joci sumus. Ego de te ad Caesarem quam diligenter scripserim, tute scis; quam saepe, ego. Sed mehercule jam intermiseram, ne viderer liberalissimi hominis meique amantissimi voluntati erga me diffidere. Sed tamen his literis, quas proxime dedi, putavi esse hominem commonendum. Id feci. Quid profecerim, facias me velim certiore: et simul de toto statu tuo consiliisque omnibus. Scire enim cupio quid agas, quid exspectes, quam longum istum tuum discessum a nobis futurum putes. Sic enim tibi persuadeas velim, unum mihi esse solatium, quare facilius possim pati te esse sine nobis, si tibi esse id emolumento sciam. Sin autem id non est, nihil duobus nobis est stultius: me, qui te non Romam attraham: te, qui non huc advoles. Una⁶ mehercule nostra, vel severa, vel jocosa congressio pluris erit, quam non modo hostes, sed etiam fratres nostri Haedui. Quare omnibus de rebus fac ut quam primum sciam: "Aut consolando, aut consilio, aut re juvero."

EPISTOLA XII.

M. CICERO TREBATIO S.D.

IN¹ Equo Trojano scis esse in extremo, "Sero
" sapiunt." Tu tamen, mi vetule, non sero.
Primas illas² rabiosulas sat fatuas dedisti: deinde,

R

quod

quod in Britannia non nimis φιλοθέωρον te prae-
buiſti, plane non reprehendo. Nunc vero in hi-
bernis injectus mihi videris. Itaque te commo-
vere non curas. Uſquequaque ſapere oportet. Id
erit telum acerrimum. Ego ſi foris coenitarem,
Cn.³ Octavio, familiari tuo, non deſuiſſem. Cui
tamen dixi, cum me aliquoties invitaret : oro te,
quis tu es? Sed mēhercules, extra jocum, homo
bellus eſt. Vellem eum tecum abduxiſſes. Quid
agatis, et ecquid in Italiam venturi ſitis hac hie-
me, fac plane ſciam. Balbus mihi confirmavit,
te divitem futurum. Id utrum Romano more
locutus ſit, bene nummatum te futurum, an,
quomodo Stoici dicunt, Omnes eſſe divites, qui
coelo et terra frui poſſint, poſtea videro. Qui
iſtinc veniunt, ⁴ ſuperbiam tuam accuſant, quod
negent te percunctantibus reſpondere. Sed ta-
men eſt quod gaudeas. Conſtat enim inter omnes,
neminem te uno Samarobrivae juris peritiorem
eſſe.

EPISTOLA XIII.

CICERO TREBATIO.

NISI ¹ ante Roma profectus eſſes, nunc eam
certe relinqueres. Quis enim tot ² inter-
regnis jureconſultum deſiderat? Ego omnibus,
unde ³ petitur, hoc conſilii dederim, ut a ſingulis
inter-

interregibus binas⁴ advocaciones postulent. Satisne tibi videor abs te jus civile didicisse? Sed heus tu, quid agis? ecquid fit? video enim te jamolari per literas. Haec signa⁵ meliora sunt, quam in meo Tusculano. Sed quid fit, scire cupio. Consuli quidem te a Caesare scribis: sed ego tibi ab illo consuli mallem. Quod si aut fit, aut futurum putas, perfer istam militiam, et permane. Ego enim desiderium tui, spe tuorum commodorum consolabor. Sin autem ista sunt inaniora, recipe te ad nos. Nam aut erit hic aliquid aliquando: aut si minus, una mehercule collocutio nostra pluris erit, quam omnes Samarobrivae. Denique si cito te retuleris, sermo nullus erit. Si diutius frustra abfueris, non modo⁶ Laberium, sed etiam sodalem nostrum Valerium pertimesco. Mira enim persona induci potest Britannici jureconsulti. Haec ego non rideo, quamvis tu rideas: sed de re severissima tecum, ut soleo, jocor. Remoto joco, tibi hoc amicitissimo animo praecipio, ut, si istic mea commendatione tuam dignitatem obtinebis, perferas nostri desiderium; honestatem, et facultates tuas augeas. Sin autem ista frigeant, recipias te ad nos. Omnia tamen quae vis, et tua virtute profecto, et nostro summo erga te studio consequere, Vale.

EPISTOLA XIV.

CICERO TREBATIO.

MIRABAR ¹quid esset, quod tu mihi literas mittere intermisisses. Indicavit mihi Panfa ²meus, Epicureum te esse factum. O castra praeclara! quid tu fecisses, si te Tarentum ³, et non Samarobrivam misissem? Jam tum mihi non placebas, cum idem intuebare, quod et Seius ⁴familiaris meus. Sed quonam modo jus civile defendes, cum omnia tua causa facias, non civium? Ubi porro illa erit formula fiducia, “ Ut “ inter bonos bene agier oportet?” Quis enim est, qui facit nihil nisi sua causa? Quod jus statues communi dividundo, cum commune nihil possit esse apud eos, qui omnia voluptate sua metiuntur? Quomodo autem tibi placebit, Jovem lapidem jurare, cum scias, Jovem iratum esse nemini posse? Quid porro fiet populo ⁵Ulu-brano, si tu statueris, πολὺνέαζ non oportere? Quare si plane a nobis deficiis, moleste fero: sin Panfae assentari commodum est, ignosco: modo scribe aliquando ad nos quid agas, et a nobis quid fieri, aut curari velis. Vale.

E P I S.

EPISTOLA XV.

M. CICERO TREBATIO S.D.

ADEONE¹ me iniustum esse existimasti, ut tibi irascerer, quod parum mihi constans, et nimium cupidus decedendi viderere, ob eamque causam me arbitrare literas ad te jamdiu non misisse? Mihi perturbatio animi tui, quam primis literis perspiciebam, molestiam attulit. Neque alia ulla fuit causa intermissionis epistolarum, nisi quod, ubi esses, plane nesciebam. Hic tu me etiam infimulas, nec satisfactionem meam accipis. Audi, Testa mi: utrum superiorem te pecunia facit, an quod te imperator consulit? Moriar ni, quae tua gloria est, puto te malle a Caesare consuli, quam inaurari. Si vero utrumque est: quis te feret, praeter me, qui omnia ferre possum? Sed, ut ad rem redeam, te istuc invitum non esse, vehementer gaudeo: et, ut illud erat molestum, sic hoc est jucundum. Tantum metuo, ne artificium² tuum tibi parum profit. Nam, ut audio, istuc

“ Non ex jure manu confertum, sed magis

“ ferro

“ Rem repetunt.”

et tu soles ad vim faciendam adhiberi? neque est,

quod illam exceptionem in interdicto pertimescas, “ Quod tu prior vi hominibus armatis non “ veneris.” Scio enim te non esse procacem in laceffendo. Sed ut ego quoque te aliquid admo-
neam de nostris cautionibus: Treviros³ vites cen-
seo. Audio capitales esse. Mallem auro, aere,
argento essent. Sed alias jocabimur. Tu ad me
de istis rebus omnibus scribas velim, quam dili-
gentissime. A. d. iv. non. Mart.

EPISTOLA XVI.
CICERO TRĒBATIO.

QUAM sint¹ morosi qui amant, vel ex hoc
intelligi potest. Molestē ferebam antea te
invitum istic esse: pungit me rursus, quod scri-
bis, esse te istic libenter. Neque enim mea com-
mendatione te non delectari facile patiebar: et
nunc angor, quidquam tibi sine me esse jucun-
dum. Sed hoc tamen malo, ferre nos desiderium,
quā te non ea, quae spero, consequi. Quum
vero in C. Matii², suavissimi doctissimique ho-
minis familiaritatem venisti, non dici potest,
quam valde gaudeam: qui fac ut te quam ma-
xime diligat. Mihi crede, nihil ex ista provin-
cia potes, quod jucundius sit, deportare. Cura,
ut valeas.

EPISTOLA XVII.

CICERO TREBATIO S.D.

ACCEPI¹ a te aliquot epistolas uno tempore, quas tu diversis temporibus dederas, in quibus me caetera delectarunt. Significabant enim, te istam militiam jam firmo animo ferre, et esse fortem virum et constantem. Quae ego paulisper in te ita desideravi, non imbecillitate animi tui, sed magis ut desiderio nostri te aestuare putarem. Quare perge, ut coepisti: forti animo istam tolera militiam. Multa, mihi crede, assequere. Ego enim renovabo commendationem, sed tempore. Sic habeto, non tibi majori esse curae, ut iste tuus a me discessus quam fructuosissimus tibi sit, quam mihi. Itaque, quando vestrae² cautiones infirmae sunt, Graeculam tibi misi cautionem chirographi mei. Tu me velim de ratione Gallici belli certiore facias. Ego enim ignavissimo³ cuique maximam fidem habeo. Sed ut ad epistolas tuas redeam, caetera belle: illud miror: quis solet eodem exemplo plures dare, qui sua manu scribit? Nam quod in palimpsesto⁴, laudo equidem parsimoniam: sed miror, quid in illa chartula fuerit, quod delere malueris, quam⁵ haec scribere, nisi forte tuas formulas. Non enim puto te meas

epistolas delere, ut reponas tuas. An hoc significas, nihil fieri? frigere te? ne chartam quidem tibi suppeditare? Jam ista tua culpa est, qui verecundiam tecum extuleris, et non hic nobiscum reliqueris. Ego te Balbo, cum ad vos proficiscetur, more Romano commendabo. Tu, si intervallum longius erit mearum literarum, ne sis admiratus. Eram enim abfuturus mense Aprili. Has literas scripsi in Pomptino, cum ad villam Metrilii Philemonis divertissem: ex qua jam audieram fremitum clientium meorum, quos quidem tu mihi conciliasti. Nam Ulubris⁶ honoris mei causa vim maximam ranunculorum se commosse constabat. Cura ut valeas. VI. idus April. de Pomptino.

Epistolam⁷ tuam, quam accepi ab L. Arruntio, conscidi innocentem. Nihil enim habebat, quod non vel in concione recte legi posset. Sed et Arruntius ita te mandasse ajebat, et tu adscriperas. Verum illud esto. Nihil te ad me postea scripisse demiror, praesertim tam novis rebus.

EPISTOLA XVIII.

CICERO TREBATIO.

CHRYSIPPUS¹ Vettius, Cyri architecti libertus, fecit, ut te non immemorem putarem mei. Salutem enim verbis tuis mihi nuntiavit. Valde jam lautus es, qui gravere literas
ad

ad me dare, homini praefertim prope domestico. Quod si ² scribere oblitus es, minus multi jam, te advocato, causa cadent: Sin nostri oblitus es, dabo operam ut istuc veniam ante, quam plane ex animo tuo effluo: sin aestivorum timor te debilitat, aliquid ³ excogita, ut fecisti de Britannia. Illud quidem perlibenter audivi ex eodem Chrysippo, te esse Caesari familiarem. Sed mehercule mallet, id quod erat aequius, de tuis rebus ex tuis literis quam saepissime cognoscerem. Quod certe ita fieret, si tu maluisses benevolentiae, quam litium jura perdiscere. Sed haec jocati sumus, et tuo more, et nonnihil etiam nostro. Te valde amamus, nosque a te amari cum volumus, tum etiam confidimus. Vale.

EPISTOLA XIX.

CICERO TREBATIO S.D.

AMABILIOR ¹ mihi Velia fuit, quod te ab ea sensi amari. Sed quid ego dicam te, quem quis non amat? Rufio, medius fidius, tuus ita desiderabatur, ut si esset unus e nobis. Sed ego te non reprehendo, qui illum ad aedificationem tuam traduxeris. Quanquam enim Velia non est vilior, quam Lupercal ²; tamen isthuc malo, quam haec omnia. Tu, si me audies, quem soles, has paternas possessiones tenebis, nescio quid enim

enim Velientes verebantur, neque Heletem³ nobilem amnem relinques, nec Papirianam domum deferes. Quanquam illa quidem habet⁴ lotum, a quo etiam advenae teneri solent: quem tamen si excideris, multum prospexeris. Sed in primis opportunum videtur, his praesertim temporibus, habere perfugium, primum eorum urbem, quibus carus sis: deinde tuam domum, tuosque agros, eaque remoto, salubri, amoeno, loco: idque etiam mea interesse, mi Trebati, arbitror. Sed valebis, meaque negotia videbis, meque diis juvantibus ante brumam expectabis. Ego a Sext. Fadio, Niconis⁵ discipulo, librum abstuli, ΝίκωνⓈ περὶ πολυφαγίας. O medicum suavem, meque docilem ad hanc disciplinam! Sed Bassus noster me de hoc libro celavit, te quidem non videtur. Ventus increbescit. Cura ut valeas. XIII. kal. Sext. Velia.

EPISTOLA XX.

CICERO TREBATIO S.

VIDE¹ quanti apud me sis, et si jure id quidem: non enim te amore vinco. Veruntamen quod praesenti tibi prope subnegarem, non tribuerem certe, id absenti debere non potui. Itaque, ut primum Velia navigare coepi, institui Topica Aristotelea conscribere, ab ipsa urbe commonitus,

monitus, amantissima tui. Eum librum tibi misi Rhegio, scriptum quam planissime res illa scribi potuit. Sin tibi quaedam videbuntur obscuriora, cogitare debebis, nullam artem literis sine interprete, et sine aliqua exercitatione percipi posse. Non longe² abieris. Num jus civile vestrum ex libris cognosci potest? qui quanquam plurimi sunt, doctorem tamen³ usumque desiderant. Quanquam tu si attente leges, si saepius, per te omnia consequere, ut certe intelligas. Ut vero etiam ipsi tibi loci⁴ proposita quaestione occurrant, exercitatione consequere. In qua quidem nos te⁴ continebimus, si et salvi redierimus, et salva ista offenderimus, v. kal. Sext. Rhegio.

EPISTOLA XXI.

CICERO TREBATIO S.D.

SILII¹ causam te docui. Is postea fuit apud me, cum ei dicerem, tibi videri sponsonem illam nos sine periculo facere posse, "Si bonorum Turpiliae possessionem Q. Caepio praetor ex edicto suo mihi dedit:" negare ajebat Servium, tabulas testamenti esse eas, quas institisset is, qui factionem testamenti non habuerit; hoc idem Offilium dicere, tecum se locutum negabat: meque rogavit, ut se et causam suam tibi commendarem. Nec vir melior, mi

Testa,

Testa, nec mihi amicior P. Silio quisquam est, te tamen excepto. Gratissimum igitur mihi feceris, si ad eum ultro veneris, eique pollicitus eris: sed, si me amas, quam primum hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXII.

CICERO TREBATIO S.D.

ILLUSERAS' heri inter scyphos: quod dixeram, controversiam esse, possetne heres, quod furtum antea factum esset, furti recte agere. Itaque, etsi domum bene potus seroque redieram, tamen id caput, ubi haec controversia est, notavi, et descriptum tibi misi: ut scires, id, quod tu neminem sensisse dicebas, Sex. Aelium, M. Manilium, M. Brutum sensisse. Ego tamen Scaevolae et Testae assentior. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXIII.

CICERO FABIO GALLO S.D.

TANTUM' quod ex Arpinati veneram, cum mihi a te literae redditae sunt: ab eodemque accepi Aviani literas: in quibus hoc inerat liberalissimum, nomina se facturum, cum venisset, qua ego vellem die. Fac, quaeso, qui ego sum, esse te. Estne aut tui pudoris, aut nostri, primum rogare de die, deinde plus annua postu-

postulare? Sed essent, mi Galle, omnia facilia, si et ea mercatus esses, quae ego desiderabam, et ad eam summam, quam volueram. Ac tamen ista ipsa quae te emisse scribis, non solum rata mihi erunt, sed etiam grata. Plane enim intelligo, te non modo studio, sed etiam amore usum, quae te delectarint, hominem ut ego semper iudicavi, in omni iudicio elegantissimum, quaeque me digna putaris, coemisse. Sed velim maneat Damasippus in sententia. Prorsus enim ex istis emtionibus nullam desidero. Tu autem ignarus instituti mei, quanti ego genus omnino signorum omnium non aestimo, tanti ista quatuor aut quinque sumfisti. Bacchas istas cum Musis Metelli comparas. Quid simile? primum, ipsas ego Musas nunquam tanti putassem: atque id fecissem, Musis omnibus approbantibus. Sed tamen erat aptum bibliothecae, studiisque nostris congruens. Bacchis vero ubi est apud me locus? At pulchellae sunt. Novi optime, et saepe vidi. Nominatim tibi signa mihi nota mandassem, si probassem. Ea enim signa ego emere soleo, quae ad similitudinem gymnasiorum exornent mihi in palaestra locum. Martis vero signum quo mihi pacis auctori? Gaudeo nullum Saturni ⁴ signum fuisse. Haec enim duo signa putarem mihi aes alienum attulisse. Mercurii mallet aliquod fuisset.

isset. Felicius, puto, cum Aviano transigere possemus. Quod tibi destinaras⁵ trapezophoron, si te delectat, habebis: sin autem sententiam mutasti, ego habebo scilicet. Ista quidem summa nae ego multo libentius emerim diversorium Tarracinae, ne semper hospiti molestus sim. Omnino liberti mei video esse culpam, cui plane res certas mandaram: itemque Junii, quem puto tibi notum esse, Aviani familiarem. Exhedria quaedam mihi nova sunt instituta in porticula Tusculani. Ea volebam tabellis ornare. Etenim, si quid generis istiusmodi me delectat, pictura delectat. Sed tamen, si ista mihi sunt habenda, certiozem velim me facias, ubi sint, quando arcessantur, quo genere vecturae. Si enim Damasippus in sententia non manebit, aliquem pseudodamasippum vel cum iactura reperiemus. Quod ad me de domo scribis iterum, jam id ego proficiscens mandabam meae Tulliae. Ea enim ipsa hora acceperam tuas literas: egeram etiam cum tuo Nicia, quod is utitur, ut scis, familiariter Cassio. Ut redii autem, prius quam tuas legi has proximas literas, quaesivi de mea Tullia, quid egisset. Per Liciniam se egisse dicebat. Sed opinor Cassium uti non ita multum sorore. Eam porro negare se audere, cum vir abesset, est enim profectus in Hispaniam Dexius, illo et absente

sente et insciente migrare. Est mihi gratissimum, tanti a te aestimatam consuetudinem vitae victusque nostri: primum ut eam domum fumeres, ut non modo prope me, sed plane mecum habitare posses: deinde ut migrare tantopere festines. Sed ne vivam, si tibi concedo, ut ejus rei tu cupidior sis, quam ego sum. Itaque omnia experiar. Video enim quid mea intersit, quid utriusque nostrum. Si quid egero, faciam ut scias. Tu et ⁶ ad omnia rescribes, et quando te expectem, facies me, si tibi videtur, certiolem.

EPISTOLA XXIV.

CICERO GALLO. S.D.

CUM¹ decimum jam diem graviter ex intestinis laborarem, neque iis, qui mea opera uti volebant, me probarem non valere, quia febrim non haberem, fugi in Tusculanum: cum quidem biduum ita jejunos fuisset, ut ne aquam quidem gustarem. Itaque confectus languore et fame, magis tuum officium desideravi, quam abs te requiri putavi meum. Ego autem cum omnes morbos reformido, tum quo² Epicurum tuum Stoici male accipiunt, quia dicat, *δυσχερὰ καὶ δυσκολία πάθη* sibi molesta esse: quorum alterum, morbum edacitatis³ esse putant, alterum etiam turpioris intemperantiae. Sane *δυσκολία* pertimueram.

mueram. Sed visa est mihi vel loci mutatio, vel animi etiam relaxatio, vel ipsa fortasse jam fefcensis morbi remissio profuisse. Attamen, ne mirere, unde hoc acciderit, quomodo ve commiserim: ⁴lex sumtuaria, quae videtur λιτότητα attulisse, ea mihi fraudi fuit. Nam dum volunt isti lauti terra nata, quae lege excepta sunt, in honorem adducere, fungos, heluellas, herbas omnes ita condiunt, ut nihil possit esse suavius. In eas cum incidissem in coena augurali apud Lentulum, tanta me διάρροια arripuit, ut hodie primum videatur coepisse consistere. Ita ego, qui me ostreis et muraenis facile abstinebam, a beta et a malva deceptus sum. Posthac igitur erimus cautiores. Tu tamen cum audisses ab Anicio, vidit enim me nauseantem, non modo mittendi causam justam habuisti, sed etiam visendi. Ego hic cogito commorari, quoad me reficiam. Nam et vires et corpus amisi. Sed, si morbum depulero, facile, ut spero, illa revocabo. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXV.

CICERO M. FABIO GALLO S.D.

AMORIS¹ quidem tui, quoquo me verti, vestigia: vel proxime de Tigellio. Sensus enim ²ex literis tuis, valde te laborasse. Amo igitur voluntatem. Sed pauca de re. ³Cipius, opinor, olim, "non omnibus dormio:" sic ego non
omni-

omnibus, mi Galle, servio. Etsi quae est haec servitus? Olim, cum regnare existimabamur, non tam ab ullis, quam hoc tempore observor a familiarissimis Caesaris omnibus, praeter istum. Id ego in lucris⁴ pono, non ferre hominem pestilentior⁵ patria sua: eumque⁵ addictum jam tum puto esse Calvi Licinii Hipponaeteo praeconio. At vide, quid succenseat. Phameae causam receperam, ipsius quidem causa. Erat enim mihi sane familiaris. Is ad me venit, dixitque, iudicem sibi operam dare constituisse eo ipso die, quo de P. Sextio in consilium iri necesse⁶ erat. Respondi nullo modo me facere posse, cum vellem: alium diem si sumsisset, me ei non defuturum. Ille autem, qui sciret se nepotem, bellum tibicinem habere, et sat bonum unctorem, discessit a me, ut mi videbatur, iratior. Habes Sardos⁷ venales, alium alio nequiores. Cognosti meam causam, et istius Salaconis iniquitatem. Catonem⁸ tuum mihi mitte: cupio enim legere. Me adhuc non legisse turpe utrique nostrum est. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXVI.

CICERO M. FABIO GALLO S.D.

QUOD¹ epistolam conscissam doles, noli laborare. Salva est; domo petes cum libet. Quod autem me mones,² valde gratum est;

S

idque

idque ut semper facias, rogo. Videris enim mihi vereri, ne, si istum³ habuerimus, rideamus γέλῳα Καρδώνιον. Sed heus tu, manum⁴ de tabula: Magister⁵ adest citius, quam putaramus. Vereor ne in Catonium⁶ Catoninos. Mi Galle, cave putes quidquam melius quam epistolae tuae partem ab eo loco: "caetera labuntur." Secreto hoc audi; id tecum habeto; ne Apellae quidem liberto tuo dixeris. Praeter duo nos loquitur isto modo nemo: bene malene, videro: sed quidquid est, nostrum est. Urge igitur: ne transversum unguem, quod ajunt, a stylo. Is enim est dicendi opifex. Atque equidem aliquantum jam etiam noctis assumo. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXVII.

CICERO GALLO S.D.

MIROR¹ cur me accuses, cum tibi id facere non liceat. Quod si liceret, tamen non debebas. "Ego enim te in consulatu observaram." Et ais, fore, ut te Caesar restituat. Multa tu quidem dicis, sed tibi nemo credit. Tribunatum plebei dicis te mea causa petisse. Utinam semper esses tribunus: intercessorem non quaereres. Negas me audere, quod sentiam dicere. Quasi tibi, cum impudenter me rogares, parum fortiter responderim. Haec tibi scripsi, ut isto ipso in genere, in quo aliquid posse vis,

te

te nihil esse cognosceres. Quod si humaniter mecum questus esses, libenter tibi me et facile purgassem. Non enim ingrata mihi sunt, quae fecisti, sed, quae scripsisti, molesta. Me autem, propter quem caeteri liberi sunt, tibi liberum non visum demiror. Nam si falsa fuerunt, quae tu ad me, ut ais, detulisti, quid tibi ego debeo? si vera, tu es optimus testis, quid mihi populus Romanus debeat. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXVIII.

CICERO VOLUMNIO S.D.

QUOD¹ sine praenomine familiariter, ut debebas, ad me epistolam misisti, primum addubitavi, num a Volumnio senatore esset, quo cum mihi est magnus usus: deinde² *ἐπεπλήξα* literarum fecit, ut intelligerem tuas esse. Quibus in literis omnia mihi perjucunda fuerunt, praeter illud, quod parum diligenter possessio salinarum³ mearum a te procuratore defenditur. Ais enim, ut ego discefferim, omnia omnium dicta, in his etiam Sextiana, in me conferri. Quid? tu id pateris? nonne defendis? non resistis? equidem sperabam ita notata me reliquisse genera dictorum meorum, ut cognosci sua sponte possent. Sed quando tanta faex est in urbe, ut nihil tam sit *ἀκρόθρον*, quod non alicui venustum esse videatur: pugna, si me amas, nisi acuta *ἀμ-*

φιλολία, nisi elegans ὑπερφολή, nisi ⁴ ὡς ἀγέγραμμα
bellum, nisi ridiculum ὡς ἀπὸ πρσοδοκίαν, nisi cae-
tera, quae sunt a me in secundo libro de Oratore
per Antonii ⁵ personam disputata de ridiculis,
ἐντεχνα, et arguta apparebunt, ut sacramento con-
tendas mea non esse. Nam de ⁶ judiciis quod
quereris, multo laboro minus, trahantur per me
pedibus omnes rei; sit vel Selius tam eloquens,
ut possit probare se ⁷ liberum, non laboro. Urba-
nitatis possessionem, amabo, quibusvis interdi-
ctis defendamus: in qua te unum metuo, con-
temno caeteros. Derideri te putas? Nunc de-
mum intelligo te sapere. Sed mehercule extra
jocum, valde mihi tuae literae facetiae elegantef-
que visae sunt. Illa quamvis ridicula essent, fi-
cut erant, mihi tamen risum non moverunt. Cu-
pio enim nostrum illum amicum in tribunatu
quam plurimum habere gravitatis: id cum ip-
sius causa, est mihi, ut scis, in amoribus, tum me-
hercule etiam reipublicae, quam quidem, quam-
vis in me ingrata sit, amare non desinam. Tu,
mi Volumni, quando et instituisti, et mihi vides
esse gratum, scribe ad me quam saepissime de re-
bus urbanis, de republica. Jucundus est mihi
sermo literarum tuarum. Praeterea Dolabellam,
quem ego perspicio et judico cupidissimum esse
atque amantissimum mei, cohortare et confirma,
redde plane meum. Non mehercule quo quid-
quam

quam desit, sed quia valde cupio, non videor nimium laborare. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXIX.

M. CICERO VOLUMNIO S.D.

QUOD¹ declamationibus nostris cares, damni nihil facis. Quod² Hirtio invideres, nisi eum amares, non erat causa invidendi: nisi forte ipsius eloquentiae magis, quam quod me audiret, invideres. Nos enim plane, mi suavissime Volumni, aut nihil sumus, aut nobis quidem ipsis displicemus, gregalibus illis, quibus, te plaudente, vigeamus, amissis: ut etiam, si quando aliquid dignum nostro nomine emisimus, ingemiscamus, quod haec “³ pinnigero, non armigero “ in corpore tela exerceantur,” ut ait Philoctetes apud Accium, abjecta gloria. Sed tamen omnia mihi erunt, si tu veneris, hilariora. Quamquam venies, ut ipse intelligis, in maximarum quasi concursum occupationum: quas si, ut volumus, ⁴exceperimus, ego vero multam salutem et foro dicam et curiae, vivamque tecum multum, et cum communibus nostris amatoribus. Nam et Cassius tuus, et Dolabella noster, vel potius uterque noster, studiis iisdem tenentur, et meis aequissimis utuntur auribus. Opus est huc limatulo et polito tuo iudicio, et illis interioribus ⁵literis meis, quibus saepe verecundio-

rem me in loquendo facis. Mihi enim judicatum est, si modo hoc Caesar aut patietur, aut volet, deponere illam jam personam, in qua me saepe illi ipsi probavi, ac me totum in literas abdere, tecumque et cum caeteris earum studiosis honestissimo otio perfrui. Tu vellem ne veritus esses, ne perinvitus legerem tuas literas, si mihi, quemadmodum scribis, longiores forte misisses: ac velim posthac sic statuas, tuas mihi literas longissimas quasque, gratissimas fore. Vale,





MARCI
TULLII CICERONIS
EPISTOLARUM
AD FAMILIARES
LIBER VIII.

EPISTOLA I.
M. COELIUS M. CICERONI S.D.

QUOD tibi ¹decedens pollicitus sum, me
omnes res urbanas diligentissime tibi per-
scripturum; data opera paravi, qui sic omnia per-
sequeretur, ut verear, ne tibi nimium arguta haec
sedulitas videatur. Tametsi tu, scio, quam sis
curiosus, et quam omnibus peregrinantibus gra-
tum sit, minimarum quoque rerum, quae domi
s 4 gerantur,

gerantur, fieri certiores: tamen hoc deprecor, ne meum hoc officium arrogantiae condemnes, quod hunc laborem alteri delegavi: non quin mihi suavissimum sit, et occupato, et ad literas scribendas, ut tu nosti, pigerrimo, tuae memoriae dare operam. Sed id ipsum volumen, quod tibi misi, facile, ut ego arbitror, me excusat. Nescio cujus otii esset, non modo perscribere haec, sed omnino animadvertere. Omnia enim sunt ibi senatusconsulta, edicta, fabulae, rumores: quod exemplum si forte minus te delectarit, ne molestiam tibi cum impensa mea exhibeam, fac me certiores. Si quid in republica majus actum erit, quod isti operarii minus commode persequi possint, et quemadmodum actum sit, et quae existimatio secuta, quaeque de eo spes est, diligenter tibi perscribemus. Ut nunc est, nulla magnopere expectatio est. Nam et illi rumores de² comitiis Transpadanorum, Cumarum tenus caluerunt. Romam cum venissem, ne tenuissimam quidem auditionem de ea re accipi. Praeterea³ Marcellus quod adhuc nihil retulit de successionem provinciarum Galliarum, et in kalendas Junias, ut mihi ipse dixit, eam distulit relationem; sane quam eos sermones expressit, qui de eo tum fuerant, cum Romae nos effemus. Tu, si Pompeium, ut volebas, offendisti, qui

qui tibi visus sit, et quam orationem habuerit tecum, quamque ostenderit voluntatem, solet enim aliud sentire et loqui, neque tantum valere ingenio, ut non appareat, quid cupiat, fac mihi perscribas. Quod ad Caesarem, crebri et non belli de eo rumores: sed susurratores duntaxat veniunt. Aliusequitem perdidisse, quod opinor certe factum est; alius septimam legionem vapulasse: ipsum apud Bellovacos ⁴ circumfederi, interclusum ab reliquo exercitu. Neque adhuc certi quidquam est, neque haec incerta vulgo jactantur: sed inter paucos, quos tu nosti plane, secreto narrantur: at ⁵ Domitius, cum manus ad os apposuit. Te a. d. ix. kalendas Jun. subrostrani, quod illorum capiti sit, dissiparant perisse: et te urbe ac foro toto maximus rumor fuit a Q.⁶ Pompeio in itinere occisum. Ego, qui scirem Q. Pompeium Baulis embaeneticam facere, et usque eo, ut ego miserer ejus esurie, non sum commotus: et hoc mendacio, si qua pericula tibi impenderent, ut defungeremur, optavi. Plancus quidem tuus Ravennae est: et magno congiario donatus a Caesare, nec beatus, nec bene instructus est. Tui ⁷ politici libri omnibus vigent. Vale.

EPISTOLA II.

M.T.C. PROCONSUL M.COELIO S.D.

QUID? ¹ tu me hoc tibi mandasse existimas, ut mihi gladiatorum compositiones, ut vadmonia delata, et Chresti compilationem mitteres, et ea quae nobis, cum Romae sumus, narrare nemo audeat? Vide quantum tibi meo iudicio tribuam, nec mehercule injuria: πολίτικόν ² *tegon* enim te adhuc neminem cognovi. Ne illa quidem curo mihi scribas, quae maximis in rebus reipublicae geruntur quotidie, nisi quid ad me ipsum pertinebit. Scribent alii: multi nuntiabunt. Perferet multa etiam ipse rumor. Quare ego nec praeterita, nec praesentia abs te, sed ut ab homine longe in posterum prospiciente, futura exspecto; ut ex tuis literis cum formam reipublicae viderim, quale aedificium futurum sit, scire possim. Neque tamen adhuc habeo, quod te accusem: neque enim fuit, quod tu plus providere posses, quam quivis nostrum, in primisque ego, qui cum Pompeio complures dies nullis in aliis nisi de republica sermonibus versatus sum: quae nec ² possunt scribi, nec scribenda sunt. Tantum habeto, civem egregium esse Pompeium, et ad omnia quae providenda sunt in republica et animo et consilio paratum. Quare

re da te homini. Complectetur te, mihi crede. Jam eidem illi et boni et mali cives videntur, qui nobis videri solent. Ego cum Athenis decem ipsos dies fuisssem, multumque mecum ³Gallus noster Caninius, proficiscebar inde prid. Nonas Quint. cum hoc ad te literarum dedi. Tibi cum omnia mea commendatissima esse cupio, tum nihil magis, quam ne tempus nobis provinciae pro-rogetur. In eo mihi sunt omnia. Quod quando, et quomodo et per quos agendum fit, tu optime constitues. Vale.

EPISTOLA III.

COELIUS CICERONI S.

CERTE, ¹inquam, absolutus est: me repraesentante pronuntiatum est, et quidem ²omnibus ordinibus, sed et singulis in unoquoque ordine sententiis. Vide modo, inquis. Non, mehercule. Nihil enim unquam tam praeter opinionem, tam quod videretur omnibus indignum, accidit. Quin ego, cum pro amicitia validissime faverem ei, et me jam ad dolendum praeparassem, postquam factum est, obstupui, et mihi visus sum captus esse. Quid alios putas? clamoribus scilicet maximis iudices corripuerunt, et ostenderunt, plane esse quod ferri non posset. Itaque relictus ³lege Licinia, majore esse periculo

culo videtur. Accessit huc, quod postridie ejus absolutionem in theatrum Curionis Hortensius introiit; puto ut suum gaudium gauderemus. Hic⁴ tibi “strepitus, fremitus, clamor, tonitruum et rudentum fibilus.” Hoc magis animadversum est, quod intactus ab sibilo pervenerat Hortensius ad senectutem. Sed tum ita bene, ut in totam vitam cuivis satis esset, et poeniteret eum jam vicisse. De republica quid tibi scribam nihil habeo. Marcelli impetus resederunt, non inertia, sed, ut mihi videbatur, consilio. De comitiis consularibus incertissima est existimatio. Ego incidi in competitorem nobilem, et nobilem agentem. Nam M. Octavius, Cn. filius, et C.⁵ Hirrus mecum petit. Hoc ideo scripsi, quod scio te acriter propter Hirrum, nuntium nostrorum comitiorum expectaturum. Tu tamen simul ac me designatum audieris, ut tibi curae fit, quod ad⁵ pantheras attinet, rogo. Syngropham Sittianam tibi commendo. Commentarium rerum urbanarum primum dedi L. Castrinio Paeto: secundum ei, qui has literas tibi dedit. Vale.

EPISTOLA IV.

COELIUS CICERONI S.

ESTNE¹? vici? et tibi saepe, quod negaras discedens curaturum, literas mitto? est, si quidem perferuntur, quas do. Atque hoc eo diligentius factito, quod cum otiosus sum, plane ubi delectem otiolum meum, non habeo. Tu cum Romae eras, hoc mihi certum ac jucundissimum vacanti negotium erat, tecum id otii tempus consumere: idque non mediocriter desidero: ut non modo mihi solus esse, sed Romae, te profecto, solitudo videatur facta: et qui, quae mea negligentia est, multos saepe dies ad te, cum hic eras, non accedebam, nunc quotidie non esse te, ad quem cursitem, discrucior. Maxime vero ut te dies noctesque quaeram, competitor Hirrus curat. Quomodo illum putas auguratus tuum competitorem dolere et dissimulare, me certiolem, quam se, candidatum? de quo, ut, quem optas, quam primum nuntium accipias, tua medius fidiis magis quam mea causa cupio. Nam² me, si fio, forsitan cum locupletiore referam: sed hoc usque eo suave est, quod si acciderit, tota vita risus nobis deesse non poterit. Sed tanti? sed mehercule. Non multum M. Octavius eorum odia, qui Hirkum premunt,

munt, quae permulta sunt, sublevat. Quod ad Philotimi³ liberti officium et bona Milonis attinet, dedimus operam ut et Philotimus quam honestissime Miloni absenti, ejusque necessariis satisfaceret, et secundum ejus fidem et sedulitatem existimatio tua conservaretur. Illud nunc a te peto, si eris, ut spero, otiosus, aliquod ad nos, ut intelligamus nos tibi curae esse, *ὑπὸ ἡμῶν*⁴ conscribas. Qui tibi istuc, inquis, in mentem venit, homini non inepto? Aliquid ex tam multis tuis monumentis exstare, quod nostrae amicitiae memoriam posteris quoque prodat velim. Cujusmodi puto, quaeris. Tu citius, qui omnem nostri disciplinam, quod maxime conveniat, exco-gitabis. Genere tamen quod et ad nos pertineat, et *διδασκαλίαν* quandam, ut versetur inter manus, habeat. Vale.

EPISTOLA V.

M. COELIUS M. CICERONI S.D.

INVIDEO¹ tibi, tam multa quotidie, quae mirere, istoc perferuntur. Primum illud, ²absolutum Messallam; deinde eundem condemnatum: C.³Marcellum consulem factum: M. Claudium a repulsa postulatum a Gallis duobus: P.⁴Dolabellam quindecimvirum factum. Hoc tibi non invideo, caruisse te pulcherrimo spectaculo,

culo, et Lentuli Cruris repulsi vultum non vidisse. At qua spe, quam certa opinione descenderat? quam ipso diffidente Dolabella? et Hercules, nisi nostri equites acutius vidissent, pene concedente adversarioq; superasset. Illud te non arbitror miratum, Servium designatum tribunum plebis condemnatum, cujus locum C. Curio⁵ petiit. Sane quam incutit multis, qui eum facilitatemque ejus non norunt, magnum metum. Sed, ut spero et volo, et, ut se fert ipse, bonos et senatum malet. Totus, ut nunc est, hoc scaturit. Hujus autem voluntatis initium et causa est, quod eum non mediocriter Caesar, qui solet infimorum hominum amicitias sibi qualibet impensa adjungere, valde contempsit. Qua in re mihi videtur illud perquam venuste cecidisse, quod a reliquis quoque usque eo est animadversum, ut Curio, qui nihil consilio facit, ratione et insidiis usus videretur in evitandis consiliis, qui se intenderant adversarios in ejus tribunatum: Laelios et Antonios et id genus valentes dico. Has ego tibi literas eo majore misi intervallo, quod comitiorum dilationes occupationem me habebant, et exspectare in dies exitum cogebant, ut, confectis omnibus, te facerem certiore. Ad kalendas Sextiles usque exspectavi. Praetoriis morae quaedam inciderunt. Mea porro⁶ comitia

tia quem eventum sint habitura, nescio. Opinione quidem, quod ad Hirrum attinet, incredibilem, aedilium plebis comitiis nata sunt. Nam M. Coelium Vinicianum mentio illa fatua, quam deriseramus olim, et promulgatio de dictatore subito deiecit, et dejectum magno clamore infecta est. Inde Hirrum cuncti jam, non faciendum, flagitare. Spero te celeriter et de nobis quod sperasti, et de illo quod vix sperare ausus es auditurum. De republica jam novi quidquam expectare desieramus. Sed cum senatus habitus esset ad Apollinis, a. d. xi. kalendas Sextiles et referretur de stipendio ⁷ Cn. Pompeii, mentio facta est de legione ea, quam expensam tulit C. Caesari Pompeius, quo numero esset, quo appeteretur: cum ex Gallia coactus esset dicere Pompeius se legionem abducturum, sed non statim sub mentionem et convicium obrectatorum. Inde interrogatus de successione C. Caesaris: de qua, hoc est de provinciis, placitum est, ut quam primum ad urbem reverteretur Cn. Pompeius: ut coram eo de successione provinciarum ageretur. Nam Ariminum ad exercitum Pompeius erat iturus: et statim iit. Puto idib. Sextil. de ea re factum iri. Profecto aut transigetur aliquid, aut turpiter intercedetur. Nam in disputando coniecit illam vocem Cn. Pompeius,

“ Omnes

“ Omnes oportere senatui dicto audientes esse.” Ego tamen sic nihil exspecto, quomodo Paulum consulem designatum primum sententiam dicentem. Saepius te admoneo de syngrapha Sitiana. Cupio enim te intelligere, eam rem ad me valde pertinere. Item de Pantheris, ut Cybiratas⁸ arceffas, curesque ut mihi venentur. Praeterea nuntiatum nobis, et pro certo jam habetur, regem Alexandrinum⁹ mortuum. Quid mihi suadeas, quomodo regnum illud se habeat, quis procuret, diligenter mihi perscribas. Kalendis Sextil.

EPISTOLA VI.

COELIUS CICERONI S.

QUA tu¹ cura sis, quod ad pacem provinciae tuae finitimarumque regionum attinet, nescio, ego quidem vehementer animi pendo. Nam si hoc moderari possemus, ut pro viribus copiarum tuarum belli quoque existeret magnitudo, et, quantum gloriae triumphoque opus esset, assequeremur, periculosamque et gravem illam dimicationem evitarem, nihil tam esset optandum. Nunc si Parthus movet aliquid, scio non mediocrem fore contentionem. Tuus porro exercitus vix unum saltum tueri potest. Hanc autem nemo ducit rationem: sed omnia

T

deside-

desiderantur ab eo, tanquam nihil denegatum sit ei, quo minus quam paratissimus esset, qui publico negotio praepositus est. Accedit huc, quod successionem futuram² propter Galliarum controversiam non video. Tametsi hac de re puto te constitutum, quid factururus esses, habere: tamen, quo maturius constitueres, cum hunc eventum providebam, visum est ut te facerem certior. Nosti enim haec tralatitia: de Galliis constituetur: erit qui intercedat: deinde alius existet, qui, nisi libere liceat de omnibus provinciis decernere senatui, reliquas impediat. Sic multum ac diu ludetur; atque ita diu, ut plus biennium in his tricis moretur. Si quid novi de republica quod tibi scriberem haberem, usus essem mea consuetudine, ut diligenter, et quid actum esset, et quid ex eo futurum sperarem, perscriberem. Sane tanquam in quodam incili jam omnia adhaeserunt. Marcellus idem illud de provinciis urget, neque adhuc frequentem³ senatum efficere potuit. Quod si, hoc anno praeterito, Curio tribunus, et eadem actio de provinciis introibit: quam facile nunc sit omnia impedire, et quam hoc Caesari, qui sua causa rempublicam non curet, superet, non te fallit. Vale.

EPISTOLA VII.

COELIUS CICERONI S.

SIC¹ tu, inquis, Hirrum tractasti? Immo, si scias, quam facile, quam ne contentionis quidem minimum fuerit, pudeat te, ausum illum unquam esse incedere tanquam tuum competitorum. Post repulsam vero risus facit, civem bonum ludis, et contra Caesarem sententias dicit: expectationem² corripit: Curionem prorsus non mediocriter objurgat, ac repulsa se mutavit. Praeterea qui nunquam in foro apparuerit, non multum in judiciis versatus sit, agit causas³ liberales. Sed raro post meridiem. De provinciis quod tibi scripseram idibus Sextil. actum iri, interpellat iudicium Marcelli, consulis designati. In kalend. rejecta re, ne frequentiam quidem efficere potuerunt. Has literas a. d. iv. non. Septembr. dedi, cum ad eam diem ne profligatum quidem quidquam erat. Ut video, causa haec integra in proximum annum transferetur: et, quantum divino, relinquendus tibi erit, qui provinciam obtineat. Nam non expedietur successio, quum Galliae, quae habent intercessorem, in eandem conditionem, quam caeterae provinciae vocantur. Hoc mihi non est dubium. Quo tibi magis scripsi, ut ad hunc eventum te para-

res. Fere literis omnibus tibi de pantheris scripsi. Turpe tibi erit, Patifschum Curioni decem pantheras misisse, te non multis partibus plures: quas ipsas Curio mihi, et alias Africanas decem donavit: ne putes illum tantum praedia rustica dare scire. Tu, si modo memoria teneres, et Cybiratas arcessieris, itemque in Pamphyliam literas miseris, nam ibi plures capi ajunt, quod voles, efficies. Hoc vehementius laboro nunc, quod seorsum a collega puto mihi omnia paranda. Amabo te, impera tibi hoc curae. Soles libenter, ut ego, majorem partem nihil curare. In hoc negotio nulla tua, nisi loquendi cura est, hoc est, imperandi et mandandi. Nam, simulatque erunt captae, qui alant eas et deportent, habeseos, quos ad Sittianam syngrapham misi. Puto etiam, si ullam spem mihi literis ostenderis, me isto missurum alios. Marcum Feridium, equitem Romanum, amici mei filium, bonum et strenuum adolescentem, qui ad suum negotium istuc venit, tibi commendo, et te rogo, ut eum in tuorum numero habeas. Agros, quos fructuarios habent civitates, vult tuo beneficio, quod tibi facile et honestum factu est, immunes esse. Gratos et bonos viros tibi obligaris. Nolo te putare Favonium + a columnariis praeteritum esse: optimus quisque eum non fecit. Pompei-

us tuus aperte Caesarem vetat et provinciam tenere cum exercitu, et consulem esse. Tamen hanc sententiam dixit, nullum hoc tempore senatusconsultum faciendum. Scipio hanc, ut kalend. Martiis de provinciis Galliis, neu quid conjunctim referretur. Contristavit haec sententia Balbum Cornelium: et scio eum questum esse cum Scipione. Canidius in defensione sua fuit disertissimus, in accusatione satis frigidus. Vale.

EPISTOLA VIII.

M. COELIUS M. CICERONI S. D.

ETSI¹ de republica quae tibi scribam, habeo: tamen nihil, quod magis gavisurum te putem, habeo, quam hoc. Scito, C. Semprium Rufum, Rufum mel ac delicias tuas, calumniam² maximo plausu tulisse: quaeris qua in causa? M. Tuccium, accusatorem suum post ludos Romanos, reum lege Plotia de vi fecit, hoc consilio, quod videbat, si extraordinarius reus³ nemo accessisset, sibi hoc anno causam esse dicendam. Dubium porro illi non erat, quid futurum esset. Nemini hoc deferre munusculum maluit, quam suo accusatori. Itaque sine ullo subscriptore⁴ descendit, et Tuccium reum fecit. At ego simulatque audiui, invocatus ad subsellia rei occurro: surgo, neque verbum de re facio.

cio. Totum Sempronium usque eo perago, ut Vestorium quoque interponam, et illam fabulam narrem, quemadmodum tibi pro beneficio dederit, si quid injuriis suis⁵ esset, ut Vestorius teneretur. Haec quoque magna nunc contentio forum tenet. M. Servilius, postquam, ut coeperat, omnibus in rebus turbarat, nec, quod non venderet, quidquam reliquerat: maxima nobis traditus erat invidia: neque Laterensis praetor, postulante⁶ Pausania, nobis patronis, "quo ea pecunia pervenisset," recipere voluit. Quod Pilius, necessarius Attici nostri de repetundis eum postulavit, magna illico fama surrexit, et de damnatione ferventer loqui est coeptum. Quo vento projicitur Appius⁷ minor, ut indicet pecuniam ex bonis patris pervenisse ad Servilium, praevaricationisque causa diceret depositum LLS. LXXXI. Admiraris amentiam. Immo, si actionem, stultissimasque de se, nefarias de patre confessiones audisses. Mittit in consilium eosdem illos, qui lites aestimarant,⁸ iudices. Cum aequo numero sententiae fuissent, Laterensis leges ignorans pronuntiavit, quid singuli⁹ ordines iudicassent: et ad extremum, ut solent, "non redigam." Postquam discessit, et pro absoluto Servilius haberi coeptus, legisque unum et centesimum caput legit, in quo ita erat: "Quod eorum iudi-
" cum

" cum major pars judicarit, id jus ratumque
 " esto:" in tabulas absolutum non retulit, ordi-
 num judicia perscripsit. Postulante ¹ rursus Ap-
 pio, cum L. Lollio transegit, et se relaturum
 dixit. Sic nunc neque absolutus, neque damna-
 tus Servilius, de repetundis saucius Pilio trade-
 tur. Nam de divinatione Appius, cum calumni-
 am jurasset, contendere ausus non est, Pilioque
 cessit: et ipse de pecuniis repetundis a Serviliis
 est postulatus, et praeterea de vi reus a quodam
 emissario suo Titio factus est. Recte hoc par ha-
 bet. Quod ad rempublicam pertinet, omnino mul-
 tis diebus exspectatione Galliarum actum nihil
 est. Aliquando tamen saepe re dilata, et gravi-
 ter acta, et plane perspecta Cn. Pompeii volun-
 tate in eam partem, ut eum decedere post kalen-
 das Martias placeret, senatusconsultum, quod ti-
 bi misi, factum est, auctoritatesque ² perscriptae.
 " SC. AUCTORITAS. Pridie kal. Octob. in
 " aede Apollinis, scrib. affuerunt L. Domitius Cn.
 " Filius Ahenobarbus, Q. Caecilius Q. F. Metel-
 " lus Pius Scipio, L. ³ Villius Lucii F. Pomt. An-
 " nalis, C. Septimius T. F. Quirina, Caius Luc-
 " ceius C. F. Pup. Hirrus, C. Scribonius C. F.
 " Pop. Curio, L. Atteius L. F. An. Capito, M.
 " Oppius M. fil. Terentina. Quod M. Marcel-
 " lus consul, ⁴ V. F. de provinciis consularib.

“ D. E. R. I. C. uti L. Paulus, C. Marcellus con-
 “ sules, cum magistratum iniissent, ex a. d. x.
 “ kal. Mart. quae in suo magistratu futurae es-
 “ sent, de consularibus provinciis ad senatum re-
 “ ferrent, neve quid prius ex kalendis Mart. ne-
 “ ve quid conjunctim de ea re referretur a con-
 “ sulibus, utique ejus rei causa per dies comiti-
 “ ales senatum haberent, S. Q. C. facerent : et,
 “ cum de ea re ad senatum referretur a Coss.
 “ eorum, qui in CCC. iudiciis essent, sex⁵ ab-
 “ ducere liceret. Si quid de ea re ad populum, ad
 “ plebemve lato opus esset, uti Serv. Sulpicius,
 “ M. Marcellus Coss. Praetores, Tribuni ple-
 “ bis, quibus eorum videretur, ad populum, ple-
 “ bemve ferrent : quod ii non tulissent, uti, qui-
 “ cunque deinceps essent, ad populum plebemve
 “ ferrent.

“ “ I. V. prid. kalend. Octob. in aede Apolli-
 “ nis, scrib. affuerunt, L. Domitius Cn. F. Ahe-
 “ nobarbus, Q. Caecilius Q. F. Metellus Pius
 “ Scipio, L. Villius L. F. Pomt. Annalis, C. Sep-
 “ timius T. F. Quirina, C. Scribonius C. F. Pop.
 “ Curio, L. Atteius L. F. An. Capito, M. Op-
 “ pius M. F. Terentina. Quod M. Marcell. Cos.
 “ V. F. de provinciis, D. E. R. I. C. Senatum e-
 “ xistimare, neminem eorum, qui potestatem
 “ habent intercedendi, impediendi, moram af-
 “ ferre

“ferre oportere, quo minus de R. P. Q. P. ad
 “senatum referri, S. Q. C. fieri possit. Qui im-
 “pedierit, prohibuerit, eum senatum existimare
 “contra rempublicam fecisse. Si quis huic sena-
 “tusconsulto intercesserit, senatui placere au-
 “ctoritatem perscribi, et de ea re ad senatum,
 “populumque referri.” Huic senatusconsulto
 intercessit C. Coelius, L. Vinicius, P. Cornelius,
 C. Vibius Pansa. “Item, senatui placere, de mi-
 “litibus, qui in exercitu C. Caesaris sunt: qui
 “eorum stipendia emerita, aut causas, quibus de
 “causis missi fieri debeant, habeant, ad hunc or-
 “dinem referri, ut eorum ratio habeatur, cau-
 “saeque cognoscantur. Si quis huic S. C. inter-
 “cesserit, senatui placere auctoritatem perscri-
 “bi, et de ea re ad senatum, populumque re-
 “ferri.” Huic S. C. intercessit C. Coelius, C.
 Pansa, Tribuni plebis. “Itemque⁸ senatui placere,
 “in Ciliciam provinciam, in octo reliquas pro-
 “vincias, quas praetorii pro praetore obtinerent,
 “eos, qui praetores fuerunt, neque in provin-
 “cia cum imperio fuerunt, quos eorum ex
 “S. C. cum imperio in provincias pro praetore
 “mitti oporteret, eos sortito in provincias mitti
 “placere. Si ex eo numero, quos ex S. C. in
 “provincias ire oporteret, ad numerum non es-
 “sent, qui in eas provincias profiscerentur:

“tum

“ tum uti quodque collegium primum praeto-
“ rum fuisset, neque in provincias profecti es-
“ sent, ita sorte in provincias proficiscerentur.
“ Si ii ad numerum non essent, tunc deinceps
“ proximi cujusque collegii, qui praetores fu-
“ issent, neque in provincias profecti essent, in
“ sortem conjicerentur, quoad is numerus effe-
“ ctus esset, quem ad numerum in provincias
“ mitti oporteret. Si quis huic S. C. intercessis-
“ set, auctoritas perscriberetur.” Huic senatus-
consulto intercessit C. Coelius, C. Pansa, Tribuni
plebis. Illa praeterea Cn. Pompeii sunt animad-
versa, quae maxime confidentiam attulerunt ho-
minibus, ut diceret, se ante kalend. Mart. non
posse sine injuria de provinciis Caesaris statuere,
post kalend. Mart. se non dubitaturum. Cum in-
terrogaretur, si qui tum intercederent: dixit, hoc
nihil interesse, utrum C. Caesar senatui dicto au-
diens futurus non esset, an pararet, qui senatum
decernere non pateretur. Quid si, inquit alius,
et consul esse, et exercitum habere velit? At
ille, quam clementer: quid si filius meus fustem
mihi impingere velit? His vocibus, ut existima-
rent homines Pompeio cum Caesare esse nego-
tium, effecit. Itaque jam, ut video, alteram-
quam ad conditionem descendere vult Caesar, ut
aut maneat, neque hoc anno sui ratio habeatur:
aut

aut, si designari poterit, decedat. Curio se contra eum totum parat. Quid assequi possit, nescio. Illud video, bene sentientem, etsi nihil effecerit, cadere non posse. Me tractat liberaliter Curio, et mihi suo munere negotium imposuit. Nam si mihi non dedisset eas, quae ad ludos ei advectae erant Africanæ, potuit superfederi. Nunc, quum dare necesse est, velim tibi curae sit, quod a te semper petii, ut aliquid istinc bestiarum habeamus. Sittianamque syngrapham tibi commendo. Libertum Philonem istuc misi, et Diogenem Graecum, quibus mandata et literas ad te dedi. Eos tibi, et rem, de qua misi, velim curae habeas. Nam, quam vehementer ad me pertineat, in iis, quas tibi illi reddent, literis descripsi. Vale.

EPISTOLA IX.

M.T.C. COELIO RUFO, AEDILI CURULI DESIGNATO, S.D.

PIMUM¹ tibi, ut debeo, gratulor laetorque cum praesenti, tum etiam sperata² tua dignitate, ferius, non negligentia mea, sed ignorantia rerum omnium. In his enim sum locis, quo et propter longinquitatem, et propter latrocinia tardissime omnia perferuntur. Et cum gratulor, tum vero quibus verbis tibi gratias agam
non

non reperio, quod ita factus sis, ut dederis nobis, quemadmodum³ scripseras ad me, quem semper ridere possemus. Itaque cum primum audiui, ego ille ipse factus sum, scis quem dicam : egique omnes illos adolescentes, quos ille jactitat. Difficile est loqui. " Te autem contemplans absentem, et quasi tecum coram loquerer, Non, aedepol, quantam egeris rem, neque quantum facinus feceris." Quod quia praeter opinionem mihi acciderat, referebam me ad illud : " Incredibile hoc factu objicitur." Repente vero incesse " omnibus laetitiis." In quo cum objurgarer quod nimio gaudio pene desiperem, ita me defendebam : " ego voluptatem animi nimiam." Quid quaeris? dum illum rideo, pene sum factus ille. Sed haec pluribus : multaque alia et de te, et ad te, cum primum ero aliquid otii nactus. Te vero, mi Rufe, diligo, quem mihi fortuna dedit amplificatorem dignitatis meae, ultorem non modo inimicorum, sed etiam invidiorum meorum : ut eos partim scelerum suorum, partim etiam ineptiarum poeniteret. Vale.

EPISTOLA X.

M.T.C. IMP. M. COELIO RUFO, AEDILI CURULI DESIGN. S.D.

TU¹ vide, quam ad me literae non perferantur. Non enim possum adduci, ut abs te postea quam aedilis es factus, nullas putem datas: praesertim cum esset tanta res, tantae gratulationis: de te, quia quod sperabam; de² Hillo, balbus enim sum, quod non putaram. Atqui sic habeto, nullam me epistolam accepisse tuam post comitia ista praeclara: quae me laetitia extulerunt: ex quo vereor ne idem eveniat in meas literas. Equidem nunquam domum nisi unam epistolam, quin esset ad te altera: nec mihi est te jucundius quidquam, nec carius. Sed balbi non sumus: ad rem redeamus. Ut³ optasti, ita est. Velles enim, ais, tantummodo ut haberem negotii, quod esset ad laureolam satis. Parthos times, quia diffidis copiis nostris. Ergo ita accidit. Nam Parthico bello nuntiato, locorum quibusdam angustis et natura montium fretus, ad Amanum⁴ exercitum adduxi, satis probe ornatum auxiliis, et quadam auctoritate apud eos, qui me non norant, nominis nostri. Multum est enim in his locis: hiccine est ille, qui urbem? quem senatus? nosti caetera. Cum venissem ad
Ama-

Amanum, qui mons mihi cum Bibulo communis est, divisus aquarum divortiis, Cassius noster, quod mihi magnae voluptati fuit, feliciter ab Antiochia hostem rejecerat. Bibulus provinciam acceperat. Interea cum meis copiis omnibus vexavi Amanienfes, hostes sempiternos. Multi occisi, capti, reliqui dissipati, castella munita, improviso adventu capta et incensa. Ita victoria iusta imperator appellatus apud Issum, quo in loco saepe, ut ex te audiui, ⁵ Clitarchus tibi narravit, Darium ab Alexandro esse superatum, adduxi exercitum ad infestissimam Ciliciae partem. Ibi quintum et vicesimum jam diem aggeribus, vineis, turribus oppugnabam oppidum munitissimum Pindenissum, tantis opibus tantoque negotio, ut mihi ad summam gloriam nihil desit nisi nomen oppidi: quod si, ut spero, cepero, tum vero literas publice mittam. Haec ad te in praesenti scripsi, ut speres te assequi id, quod optasses. Sed, ut redeam ad Parthos, haec aestas habuit hunc exitum satis felicem: ea quae sequitur, magno est in timore. Quare, mi Rufe, vigila, primum ut mihi succedatur: fin⁶ id erit, ut scribis, et ut ego arbitror, spissius: illud, quod facile est, ne quid mihi temporis prorogetur. De republica ex tuis literis, ut antea tibi scripsi, cum praesentia, tum etiam futura magis exspecto.

Quare

Quare ut ad me omnia quam diligentissime perscribas, te vehementer rogo. Vale.

EPISTOLA XI.

COELIUS CICERONI S:

SANE ¹quam literis C. Cassii et Deiotari sumus commoti. Nam Cassius cis Euphratē copias Parthorum esse scripsit: Deiotarus, profectus per Commagenen in provinciam nostram. Ego quidem praecipuum metum, quod ad te attinebat, habui, qui scirem quam paratus ab exercitu esses, ne quod hic tumultus dignitati tuae periculum afferret. Nam de vita, si paratior ab exercitu esses, timuissē. Nunc haec exiguitas copiarum recessum, non dimicationem mihi tuam praesagiebat. Hoc quomodo acciperent homines, quam probabilis necessitas futura esset, vereor etiam nunc: neque prius definam formidare, quam tetigisse te Italiam audiero. Sed de Parthorum transitu nuntii varios sermones excitarunt. Alius enim Pompeium mittendum, alius ab urbe Pompeium non removendum, alius Caesarem cum suo exercitu, alius consules: nemo tamen ex senatusconsulto privatos. Consules autem, quia verentur ne illud senatusconsultum fiat, ²ut paludati exeant, aut contumeliose praeter eos ad alium res transferatur, omnino

no senatum haberi nolunt : usque eo ut parum diligentes in republica videantur : sed honeste, siue negligentia, siue inertia est, siue ille, quem proposui, metus latet sub hac temperantiae existimatione, nolle provinciam. A te literae non venerunt : et, nisi Deiotari subsecutae essent, in eam opinionem Cassius venerat, quae diripuisset ipse, ut viderentur ab hoste vastata, finxisse bellum, et Arabas in provinciam immisisse, eosque Parthos esse, senatui renuntiasse. Quare tibi suadeo, quicumque est istic status rerum, diligenter et caute perscribas, ne aut velificatus alicui dicaris, aut aliquid, quod referret scire, reticuisse. Nunc exitus est anni. Nam ego has literas a. d. XIII. kal. Decemb. scripsi. Plane nihil video ante kalend. Januar. agi posse. Nosti Marcellum, quam tardus et parum efficax sit, itemque Servium, quam cunctator. Cujusmodi³ putas hos esse ? aut qui id, quod nolint, conficere posse, qui quae cupiunt tamen ita frigide agunt, ut nolle existimentur ? Novis magistratibus autem, si Parthicum bellum erit, haec causa primos menses occupabit. Sin autem non erit istic bellum, aut tantum erit, ut vos aut successores parvis additis copiis sustinere possint : Curionem video se dupliciter jactaturum, primum, ut aliquid Caesari adimat ; inde, ut aliquid Pompeio tribuat, quidvis,

quidvis, quamlibet tenue munusculum. Paulus
 *porro non humane de provincia loquitur. Hu-
 jus cupiditati occursurus est Furnius noster. Plu-
 res suspicari non possum. Haec novi. Alia, quae
 possunt accidere, non cerno. Multa tempus af-
 ferre, et praeparata multa scio. Sed intra fines
 hos, quaecunque acciderint, vertentur. Illud ad-
 do ad actiones C. Curionis, de agro Campano :
 de quo negant Caesarem laborare; sed Pompei-
 um valde nolle, ne vacuus ⁵ adveniendi Caesari
 pateat. Quod ad tuum decessum attinet, illud
 tibi non possum polliceri, me curaturum ut ti-
 bi succedatur: illud certe praestabo, ne ampli-
 us prorogetur. Tui consilii est, si tempus, si se-
 natus coget, si honeste a nobis recusari non po-
 terit, velisne perseverare : mei officii est memi-
 nisse, qua obtestatione decedens mihi, ne pate-
 rer fieri, mandaris. Vale.

EPISTOLA XII.

COELIUS CICERONI S.

NON ¹ dubito, quin perlatum ad te sit, Ap-
 pium a Dolabella reum factum : sane
 non ea, quam existimaveram, invidia. Ne-
 que enim stulte Appius : qui simulatque Do-
 labella accessit ad tribunal, introierat in urbem,
 triumphique postulationem abjecerat. Quo fa-

U

cto

cto retudit sermones, paratiorque visus est, quam speraverat accusator. Is nunc in te maximam spem habet. Scio tibi eum non esse odio. Quam velis eum obligare in tua manu est: cum quo simultas tibi non fuisset, liberius tibi de tota re esset. Nunc si ad illam summam veritatem legitimum jus exegeris, cavendum tibi erit, ne parum simpliciter et candide posuisse inimicitias videaris. In hanc partem porro tutum tibi erit, si quid volueris gratificari. Nemo enim necessitudine et amicitia te deterritum ab officio dicet. Illud mihi occurrit, quod inter postulationem, et nominis delationem, uxor a Dolabella discessit. Quid mihi² discedens mandaris, memini: quid ego tibi scripserim, te non arbitror oblitum. Non est jam tempus plura narrandi. Unum illud monere te possum, si res tibi non displicebit, tamen hoc tempore nihil de tua voluntate ostendas, et exspectes, quemadmodum exeat ex hac causa. Denique invidiosum tibi fit, si emanarit. Porro, significatio ulla si intercesserit, clarius, quam deceat, aut expediat, fiat. Neque ille tacere eam rem poterit, quae suae spei tam opportuna acciderit: quaeque in negotio conficiendo tanto illustrior erit: cum praesertim is sit, qui si perniciosum sciret esse loqui de hac re, vix tamen se contineret. Pompeius dicitur
valde

valde pro Appio laborare, ut etiam putent alterutrum de filiis ad te missurum. Hic nos omnes absolvimus: et hercule consepta omnia foeda et inhonesta sunt. Consules autem habemus summa diligentia: adhuc senatusconsultum, nisi de feriis Latinis, nullum facere potuerunt. Curioni nostro tribunatus congelat. Sed dici non potest, quomodo hic omnia jaceant. Nisi ego cum tabernariis et aquariis pugnarem, veternus civitatem occupasset. Si Parthi vos nihil calfaciunt, nos hic frigore frigesimus. Tamen, quoquo modo hic omnia jaceant, potuit³ sine Parthis. Bibulus in Amano⁴ nescio quid cohorticularum amisit. Hoc sic nuntiatum est. Quod tibi supra scripsi, Curionem valde frigere, jam calet. Nam ferventissime concerpitur. Levissime enim, quia de intercalando⁴ non obtinuerat, transfugit ad populum, et pro Caesare loqui coepit: legemque⁵ Viariam, non dissimilem Agrariae Rulli, et Alimentariam, quae jubet aediles metiri, jactavit. Hoc nondum fecerat, cum priorem partem epistolae scripsi. Amabo te, si quid, quod opus fuerit, Appio facies, ponito me in gratia. De Dolabella integrum tibi reserves, suadeo. Et huic rei, de qua loquor, et dignitati tuae, aequitatisque opinioni hoc ita facere expedit. Turpe tibi erit pantheras Graecas me non habere.

EPISTOLA XIII.

COELIUS CICERONI S.

QUAM¹ cito tu istinc decedere cupias, nescio: ego quidem eo magis, quo adhuc felicius rem gessisti. Dum istic eris, de belli Parthici periculo cruciabor, ne hunc risum meum metus aliqui perturbet. Breviares has literas properanti publicanorum tabellario subito dedi: tuo liberto pluribus verbis scriptas pridie dederam. Res autem novae nullae sane acciderunt, nisi haec vis tibi scribi, quae certe vis. Cornificius adolescens² Orestillae filiam sibi despondit. Paula³ Valeria, soror Triarii, divortium sine causa, quo die vir e provincia venturus erat, fecit. Nuptura est D. Bruto, nondum retulerat. Multa in hoc genere incredibilia, te absente, acciderunt. Servius Ocella nemini persuasisset se moechum esse, nisi triduo bis deprehensus esset. Quaeres ubi? ubi hercule ego minime vellem: relinquo tibi, quod ab aliis quaeras. Neque enim displicet mihi, imperatorem singulos percontari, cum qua sit aliqui deprehensus.

EPISTOLA XIV.

M.T.C. IMP. M. COELIO, AEDILI
CURULI, S. D.

Mⁱ Fabio, viro optimo et homine doctissimo, familiarissime utor, mirificeque eum diligo, cum propter summum ingenium ejus, summamque doctrinam, tum propter singularem modestiam. Ejus negotium sic velim suscipias, ut si esset res mea. Novi ego vos magnos patronos: hominem occidat oportet, qui vestra opera uti velit. Sed in hoc homine nullam accipio excusationem. Omnia relinques, si me amabis, cum tua opera Fabius uti volet. Ego res Romanas vehementer exspecto et desidero: in primisque quid agas, scire cupio. Nam jamdiu, propter hiemis magnitudinem, nihil novi ad nos afferebatur. Vale.

EPISTOLA XV.

M.T.C. IMP. M. COELIO, AEDILI
CURULI, S. D.

PUTARESNEⁱ unquam accidere posse, ut mihi verba deessent, neque solum ista vestra oratoria, sed haec etiam levia, nostratia? Desunt autem propter hanc causam, quod mirifice sum sollicitus, quidnam de provinciis decernatur,

cernatur. Mirum me desiderium tenet urbis, incredibile meorum, atque in primis tui; satietas autem provinciae: vel quia videmur eam famam consecuti, ut non tam accessio quaerenda, quam fortuna metuenda sit: vel quia totum negotium non est dignum viribus nostris, qui majora onera in rep. sustinere et possimus, et soleamus: vel quia belli magni timor impendet, quod videmur effugere, si ad constitutam diem decedemus. De pantheris, per eos qui venari solent, agitur mandato meo diligenter: sed mira paucitas est. Et eas, quae sunt, valde ajunt queri, quod nihil cuiquam infidiarum in mea provincia, nisi sibi, fiat. Itaque constituiſſe dicuntur in Cariam ex nostra provincia decedere. Sed tamen sedulo fit, et in primis a Patisco. Quidquid erit, tibi erit: sed quid esset, plane nesciebamus. Mihi, mehercule, magnae curae est aedilitas tua, ipsa dies me admonebat: scripsi enim haec ipsis Megalensibus. Tu velim ad me de omni reip. statu quam diligentissime perscribas. Ea enim certissima putabo, quae ex te cognovero. Vale.

EPISTOLA XVI.

M.T.C. IMP. M. COELIO, AEDILI
CURULI, S. D.

RARAS¹ tuas quidem, fortasse enim non
perferuntur, sed suaves accipio literas :
vel quas proxime acceperam, quam prudentes,
quam multi et officii et consilii? Etsi omnia sic
constitueram mihi agenda, ut tu admonebas ;
tamen confirmantur nostra consilia, cum senti-
mus prudentibus fideliterque suadentibus idem
videri. Ego Appium, ut saepe tecum locutus
sum, valde diligo : meque ab eo diligi statim
coeptum esse, ut similitatem deposuimus, sensi.
Nam et honorificus in me consul fuit, et suavis
amicus, et studiosus studiorum etiam meorum.
Mea vero officia ei non defuisse, tu es testis :
quoniam *καμικὲς μάγισ*, ut opinor, occidit² Pha-
nia : et mehercule etiam pluris eum feci, quod
te amari ab eo sensi. Jam³ me Pompeii totum
esse scis. Brutum a me amari intelligis. Quid
est causae, cur mihi non sit in optatis com-
plecti hominem, florentem aetate, opibus, ho-
noribus, ingenio, liberis, propinquis, affinibus,
amicis, collegam⁴ meum praesertim, et in ipsa
collegii laude et scientia studiosum mei? Haec
eo pluribus scripsi, quod mihi significabant tuae
literae,

literae, subdubitare, qua essem erga illum voluntate. Credo te audisse aliquid. Falsum est, mihi crede, si quid audisti. Genus institutorum et rationum mearum dissimilitudinem nonnullam habet cum illius administratione provinciae: ex eo quidam suspicati fortasse sunt, animorum contentione, non opinionum dissensione, me ab eo discrepare. Nihil autem feci unquam, neque dixi, quod contra illius existimationem esse vellem. Post hoc negotium autem et temeritatem nostri Dolabellae, deprecatorem me pro illius periculo praebeo. Erat in eadem epistola veteranus civitatis. Gaudebam sane, et congelasse nostrum amicum laetabar otio. Extrema^s pagella pupugit me tuo chirographo. Quid ais? Caesarem nunc defendit Curio? quis hoc putaret praeter me? nam, ita vivam, putavi. Dii immortales, quam ego risum nostrum desidero! Mihi erat in animo, quoniam jurisdictionem confeceram, civitates locupletaram, publicanis etiam superioris lustris reliqua, sine sociorum ulla querela, conservaram, privatis, summis, infimis fueram jucundus, proficisci in Ciliciam Nonis Maji: et, cum prima aestiva attigissem, militaremque rem collocassem, decedere ex senatusconsulto. Cupio te aedilem videre, miroque desiderio me urbs afficit, et omnes mei, tuque in primis. Vale.

EPIS:

EPISTOLA XVII.

M. T. C. IMP. M. COELIO, AEDILI
CURULI, S. D.

SOLLICITUS¹ equidem eram de rebus urbanis: ita tumultuosae conciones, ita molestae² Quinquatrus afferebantur. Nam citeriora nondum audiebamus. Sed tamen nihil me magis sollicitabat quam in his molestiis non me, si quae ridenda essent, ridere tecum. Sunt enim multa, sed ea non audeo scribere. Illud moleste fero, nihil me adhuc his de rebus habere tuarum literarum. Quare etsi, cum tu haec leges, ego jam annum munus confecero, tamen obviae mihi velim sint literae tuae, quae me erudiant de omni rep. ne hospes plane veniam. Hoc melius, quam tu, facere nemo potest. Diogenes tuus, homo modestus, a me cum Philone Pessinunte discessit. Iter habebant ad Deiotarum regem: quanquam omnia nec benigna nec copiosa cognorant. Urbem,³ urbem, mi Rufe, cole, et in ista luce vive. Omnis peregrinatio, quod ego ab adolescentia judicavi, obscura et sordida iis, quorum industria Romae potest illustris esse. Quod cum probe scirem, utinam in sententia permansissem. Cum una, mehercule, ambulatiuncula atque uno sermone nostro omnes

nes fructus provinciae non confero. Spero me integritatis laudem consecutum. Non erat minor ex contemnenda, quam est ex conservata provincia. Spem triumphī? inquis. Satis gloriose triumpharem, si non essem quidem tamdiu in desiderio rerum mihi carissimarum. Sed, ut spero, propediem te videbo. Tu mihi obviam mitte epistolas te dignas. Vale.

EPISTOLA XVIII.

COELIUS CICERONI S.

NON¹ diu, sed acriter nos tuae supplicationes torserunt. Incideramus enim in difficilem nodum. Nam Curio tui cupidissimus, cui omnibus rationibus² comitiales eripiebantur, negabat se ullo modo pati posse decerni supplicationes, ne quod furore Pauli adeptus esset boni, sua culpa videretur amisisse, et praevaricator³ causae publicae existimaretur. Itaque ad pacationem descendimus: et confirmarunt consules, “se his supplicationibus in hunc annum non ufuros.” Plane quod utrisque consulibus gratias agas, est: Paulo magis certe. Nam Marcellus sic respondit, se spem in istis supplicationibus non habere: Paulus, se omnino in hunc annum non edicturum. Renuntiatum nobis erat, Hirrum diutius⁴ dicturum: prendimus eum.

Non

Non modo non fecit, sed, cum de hóstibus ageretur, et posset rem impedire, si, ut numeraretur, postularet, tacuit. Tantum Catoni assensus est, qui de te locutus honorifice, non decrerat supplicationes. Tertius ad hos Favonius accessit. Quare pro cuiusque natura et instituto gratiae sunt agenda: his, quod tantum voluntatem ostenderunt; pro sententia, cum impedire possent, non pugnarunt: Curioni vero, quod de suarum actionum cursu tua causa deflexit. Nam Furnius et Lentulus, ut debuerunt, quasi eorum res esset, una nobiscum circumierunt et laborarunt. Balbi quoque Cornelii operam et sedulitatem laudare possum. Nam cum Curione vehementer locutus est, et eum, si aliter fecisset, injuriam Caesari facturum dixit: tum ejus fidem in suspicionem adduxit. Decrerant⁶ quidem, qui neque transigi volebant, Domitii, Scipiones, quibus hac re ad intercessionem evocandam interpellantibus, venustissime Curio respondit, se eo libentius non intercedere, quod quosdam, qui decernerent, videret confici nolle. Quod ad remp. attinet, in unam causam omnis contentio coniecta est. De provinciis, inquam, adhuc est. Incubuisse cum senatu Pompeius videtur, ut Caesar Id. Novemb. decedat. Curio omnia potius subire constituit, quam id pati, caeteras suas abiecit

abiecit actiones. Nostri porro, quos tu bene nosti, ad extremum certamen rem deducere non audent. Scena rei totius haec; Pompeius tanquam Caesarem non impugnet, sed, quod illi aequum putet, constituat, ait Curionem quaerere discordias. Valde autem non vult, et plane timet Caesarem consulem designari prius, quam exercitum et provinciam tradiderit. Accipitur satis male a Curione, et totus ejus secundus ⁷ consulatus exagitur. Hoc tibi dico: si omnibus rebus prement Curionem, Caesar defendetur. Si intercessorem, quod videntur, reformidarint, Caesar, quoad volet, manebit. Quam quisque sententiam dixerit, in commentario est rerum urbanarum: ex quo tu, quae digna sunt, selege. Multa transi, in primis ludorum ⁸ explosiones, et funerum, et ineptiarum caeterarum. Plura habet inutilia. Denique malo in hanc partem errare, ut quae non desideras, audias, quam quidquam, quod opus est, praetermittatur. Tibi curae fuisse de Sittiano negotio gaudeo. Sed, quando suspicaris minus certa fide eos tibi visos, tanquam procurator, sic agas, rogo. Vale.

EPISTOLA XIX.

COELIUS CICERONI S.

GRATULOR ¹ tibi affinitate viri medius fidius optimi. Nam hoc ego de illo existimo. Caetera porro, quibus adhuc ille sibi parum utilis fuit, et aetate jam sunt decursa, et consuetudine atque auctoritate tua, et pudore Tulliae, si qua restabunt, confido celeriter sublatum iri. Non est enim pugnax in vitiis, neque hebes ad id, quod melius sit, intelligendum. Deinde, quod maximum est, ego illum valde amo. Vides, Cicero, Curionem nostrum lautum ² intercessionis de provinciis exitum habuisse? Nam cum de intercessione referretur, quae relatio fiebat ex S. C. primaque M. Marcelli sententia pronuntiata esset, qui agendum cum tribunis plebis censebat, frequens senatus in alia omnia iit. Stomacho est Magnus nunc ita languenti, ut vix id, quod sibi placeat, reperiat. Transierant illuc, ut ratio esset ejus habenda, qui neque exercitum, neque provincias tradere vellet. Quemadmodum ³ hoc Pompeius laturus sit, cum cognoscat, quidnam reipub. futurum sit, si aut non possit, si aut non curet, vos senes divites videritis. Q. Hortensius, ⁴ cum has literas scripsi, animam agebat.

EPIS-

EPISTOLA XX.

M.T.C. IMP. M. COELIO, CURULI
AEDILI, S. P. D.

NON¹ potuit accuratius agi, nec prudentius, quam actum est a te cum Curione de supplicatione: et, mehercule, confecta res ex sententia mea est, cum celeritate, tum quod is, qui erat iratus, competitor tuus et idem meus, assensus est ei, qui ornavit res nostras divinis laudibus. Quare scito me sperare ea, quae sequuntur: ad quae tu te para. Dolabellam a te gaudeo primum laudari, deinde etiam amari. Nam ea, quae speras Tulliae meae prudentia temperari posse, scio, cui tuae epistolae respondeant. Quid si meam legas, quam ego tum ex tuis literis mihi ad Appium? Sed quid agas? sic vivitur. Quod actum est, dii approbent. Spero fore jucundum generum nobis: multumque in eo tua nos humanitas adjuvabit. Resp. me valde sollicitat: faveo Curioni: Caesarem² honestum esse cupio: pro Pompeio emori possum. Sed tamen ipsa rep. nihil mihi est carius: in qua tu non valde te iactas. Districtus enim mihi videris esse, quod et bonus civis, et bonus amicus es. Ego de provincia decedens quaestorem Coelium praeposui provinciae. Puerum? inquires. At quaestorem,

storem, at nobilem adolescentem, at omnium fere exemplo: neque erat superiore honore usus, quem praeficerem. Pontinius multo ante discefferat. A Quinto Fratre impetrari non poterat: quem tamen si reliquisset, dicerent iniqui, non me plane post annum, ut senatus voluisset, de provincia decessisse: quoniam alterum me reliquisset. Fortasse etiam illud adderent, senatum eos voluisse provinciis praeesse, qui antea non praefuissent: fratrem meum triennium Asiae praefuisse. Denique nunc sollicitus non sum: si fratrem reliquisset, omnia timerem. Postremo non tam mea sponte, quam potentissimorum duorum exemplo, qui omnes³ Cassios Antoniosque complexi sunt, hominem adolescentem non tam allicere volui, quam alienare nolui. Hoc tu meum consilium laudes necesse est. Mutari enim non potest. De Ocella parum ad me plane scripseras: et in actis non erat. Tuae res gestae ita notae sunt, ut trans montem Taurum etiam de Matrinio sit auditum. Ego, nisi quid me Etesiae morabuntur, celeriter, ut spero, vos videbo. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXI.

COELIUS CICERONI S.

PUDET¹ me tibi confiteri, et queri de Appii, hominis ingratisissimi, injuriis, qui me odifse, quia magna mihi debebat beneficia, coepit: et cum homo avarus, ut ea solveret, sibi impetrare non posset, occultum bellum mihi indixit: ita occultum tamen, ut multi mihi renuntiarent, et ipse facile animadverterem, male eum de me cogitare. Posteaquam vero comperi eum collegium tentasse: deinde aperte cum quibusdam locutum: cum L. Domitio, ut nunc est, mihi inimicissimo homine, deliberare: velle hoc² munusculum deferre Cn. Pompeio: ipsum ut reprehenderem, et ab eo deprecarer injuriam, quem vitam mihi debere putaram, impetrare a me non potui. Quid ergo³ est? Tum quidem aliquot amicis, qui testes erant meorum in illum meritorem, locutus sum. Posteaquam illum, ne cui satisfaceret quidem me dignum habere sensi, malui collegae ejus, homini alienissimo mihi, et propter amicitiam tuam non aequissimo, me obligare, quam illius simiae vultum subire. Id postquam rescit, excanduit, et me causam inimicitiarum quaerere clamitavit, quasi, quod mihi in pecunia minus satisfecisset, per hanc speciem simulat

tatis

tatis eum consecraret. Postea non destitit arcessere palam Servium accusatorem, inire cum Domitio consilia: quibus cum parum procederet, ut ulla lege mihi ponerent accusatorem, compelli³ ea lege me voluerunt, qua dicere non poterant. Insolentissimi homines summis Circensibus ludis meis postulandum me lege Scantiniá curant. Vix hoc erat Pola locutus, cum ego Appium censorem eadem lege postulavi. Quod melius caderet, nihil vidi. Nam sic est a populo, et non infimo quoque approbatum, ut majorem Appio dolorem fama, quam postulatio, attulerit. Praeterea coepi⁴ sacellum, in domo quod est, ab eo petere. Conturbat me mora servi hujus, qui tibi literas attulit. Non acceptis prioribus literis, amplius quadraginta mansit. Quid tibi scribam nescio. Scis Domitio diem⁵ timori esse? Exspecto te valde, et quam primum videre cupio. A te peto, ut meas injurias proinde doleas, ut me existimas, et dolere, et ulcisci tuas solere. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXII.

COELIUS CICERONI S.

TANTI¹ non fuit Arsacem capere, et Seleuciam expugnare, ut earum rerum, quae hic gestae sunt, spectaculo careres. Nunquam tibi oculi doliissent, si in repulsa² Domitii vul-

tum vidisses. Magna illa³ comitia fuerunt, et plane studia ex partium sensu apparuerunt: perpauci, necessitudinem secuti, officium praestiterunt. Itaque mihi est Domitius inimicissimus, ut ne familiarem quidem suum quenquam tam oderit, quam me: atque eo magis, quod per injuriam sibi putat ereptum, cujus ego auctor fuerim. Nunc furit, tam gavisos homines suum dolorem, unumque me studiosiorem Antonii. Nam Cn.⁴ Saturninum adolescentem ipse Cn. Domitius reum fecit, sane quam superiore a vita invidiosum. Quod iudicium nunc in expectatione est, etiam in bona spe, post Sext. Peducaei absolutionem. De summa republica saepe tibi scripsi, me annum pacem non videre: et quo propius ea contentio, quam fieri necesse est, accedit, eo clarius id periculum apparet. Propositum hoc est, de quo, qui rerum potiuntur, sunt dimicaturi: quod Cn. Pompeius constituit non pati C. Caesarem consulem aliter fieri, nisi exercitum et provincias tradiderit: Caesari autem persuasum est, se salvum esse non posse, si ab exercitu recefferit. Fert illam tamen conditionem, ut ambo exercitus tradant. Sic illi amores, et invidiosa conjunctio, non ad occultam recedit obrectationem, sed ad bellum se erumpit: neque mearum rerum quod consilii capiam, repertio; quod non dubito, quin te quoque haec deli-

liberatio fit perturbatura. Nam mihi cum hominibus his et gratia et necessitudo est; tum causam illam, non homines odi. Illud te non arbitror fugere, quin homines in dissensione domestica debeant, quamdiu civiliter sine armis cernetur, honestiorem sequi partem: ubi ad bellum et castra ventum sit, firmiorem, et id melius statuere, quod tutius sit. In hac discordia video, Cn. Pompeium senatum, quique res iudicant, secum habiturum: ad Caesarem omnes, qui cum timore aut mala spe vivant, accessuros: exercitum conferendum non esse. Omnino satis spatii sit ad considerandas utriusque copias, et ad eligendas partes. Prope oblitus sum, quod maxime fuit scribendum. Scis Appium censorem hic ostenta facere? de signis, et tabulis, de agri modo, de aere alieno acerrime agere? Persuasum est ei, censuram, lomentum aut nitrum esse. Errare mihi videtur. Nam sordes eluere vult, venas sibi omnes et viscera aperit. Curre per deos atque homines, et quam primum haec risum veni: legis Scantinae iudicium apud Drusum fieri: Appium de tabulis et signis agere. Crede mihi, est properandum. Curio noster sapienter id, quod remisit de stipendio Pompeii, fecisse existimatur. Ad summam, quaeris, quid putem futurum. Si alteruter eorum ad Parthicum bellum non eat, video magnas impendere discordi-

as : quas ferrum et vis judicabit. Uterque animo et copiis est paratus. Si sine tuo periculo fieri posset, magnum et jucundum tibi fortuna spectaculum parabat. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXIII.

COELIUS CICERONI S.

ECQUANDO ¹ tu hominem ineptiorem, quam tuum Cn. Pompeium vidisti, qui tantas turbas, qui tam nugax esset, commoritur? Ecquem autem Caesare nostro acriorem in rebus gerendis, eodem in victoria temperatiorem, aut legisti, aut audisti? Quid est? nunc tibi nostri milites, qui durissimis et frigidissimis locis, teterrima hieme, bellum ambulando confecerunt, malis ² orbiculatis esse pasti videntur? Quid? jam, inquis, gloriose omnia. Imo si scias quam sollicitus sim, tum hanc meam gloriam, quae ad me nihil pertinet, derideas. Quae tibi exponere nisi coram non possum: idque celeriter fore spero. Nam me, cum expulisset ex Italia Pompeium, constituit ad urbem vocare. Id quod jam existimo confectum, nisi si maluit Pompeius Brundisii circumfederi. Peream, si minima causa est properandi isto mihi, quod te videre, et omnia intima conferre discupio: habeo autem quam multa! Hui vereor, quod solet fieri, ne, cum te videro, omnia obliviscar. Sed tamen quod-

quodnam ob scelus iter mihi necessarium retro ad Alpes versus incidit? Adeo quod ³ Intemelii in armis sunt, neque de magna causa. Bellienus, verna Demetrii, qui ibi cum praesidio erat, Domitium quendam, nobilem illi Caesaris hospitem, a contraria factione nummis acceptis comprehendit, et strangulavit. Civitas ad arma iit. Eo cum quatuor cohortibus mihi per nives eundum est. Usquequaque, inquires, se ⁴ Domitii male dant. Vellem quidem venere prognatus tantum animi habuisset in vestro Domitio, quantum Psecade natus in hoc habuit. Ciceroni F.S.D.

EPISTOLA XXIV.

M. COELIUS M. CICERONI S.

EXANIMATUS ¹ sum tuis literis; quibus te nihil, nisi triste cogitare ostendisti: neque id quid esset, perscripisti. Neque non tamen, quale esset quod cogitares, aperuisti. Has illico ad te literas scripsi. Per fortunas tuas, Cicero, per liberos, oro, obsecro, ne quid gravius de salute et incolumitate tua consulas. Nam deos hominesque, amicitiamque nostram testificor, me neque temere tibi ² praedixisse, neque temere monuisse: sed postquam Caesarem convenirim, sententiamque ejus, qualis futura esset, parva victoria, cognoverim, te certiolem fecisse. Si existimas eandem rationem fore Caesari in di-

mittendis adversariis, et conditionibus ³ ferendis, erras. Nihil nisi atrox et saevum cogitat, atque etiam loquitur. ⁴ Iratus senatui exiit : his intercessionibus plane incitatus est : non, mehercule, erit deprecationi locus. Quare si tibi tu, si filius unicus, si domus, si spes tuae reliquae tibi carae sunt : si aliquid apud te nos, si vir optimus, gener tuus valet, quorum fortunas non debes velle conturbare, sequere eam causam, in cuius victoria salus nostra est, ne aut odisse, aut relinquere cogamur, aut impiam cupiditatem contra salutem tuam habeamus. Denique illud cogita, quod ⁵ offensae fuerit, in ista cunctatione te subisse. Nunc te contra victorem facere, quem dubiis rebus laedere noluisti : et ad eos fugatos accedere, quos resistentes sequi nolueris, summae stultitiae est. Vide ne, dum pudet te parum optimatem esse, parum diligenter, quid optimum sit, eligas. Quod si totum tibi persuadere non possum : saltem, dum quid ⁶ de Hispaniis agamus scitur, exspecta : quas tibi nuntio adventu Caesaris fore nostras. Quam isti spem habeant, amissis Hispaniis, nescio. Quod porro tuum consilium sit ad desperatos accedere, non mediusfidius reperio. Hoc, quod tu, non dicendo, mihi significasti, Caesar audierat : ac, simul atque, ave, mihi dixit, statim quid de te audisset exposuit. Negavi me scire : sed tamen ab eo petii, ut ad te literas

teras mitteret, quibus maxime ad remanendum commoveri posses. Me secum in Hispaniam ducit. Nam, nisi ita faceret, ego prius quam ad urbem accederem, ubicunque esses, ad te percurrissem, et hoc a te praefens contendissem, atque omni vi te retinuisssem. Etiam atque etiam, Cicero, cogita, ne te tuosque omnes funditus evertas: ne te sciens prudensque eo demittas, unde exitum vides nullum esse. Quod si te aut voces optimatum commovent, aut nonnullorum hominum insolentiam et jactationem ferre non potes, eligas censeo aliquod oppidum vacuum a bello, dum haec decernuntur. Quae tu cum feceris, et ego te sapienter fecisse judicabo, et Caesarem non offendes. Vale.

EPISTOLA XXV.

M.T.C. IMP. M. COELIO, AEDILI
CURULI, S.P.D.

MAGNO¹ dolore me affecissent tuae literae, nisi jam et ratio ipsa depulisset omnes molestias, et diuturna desperatione rerum obduruisset animus ad dolorem novum. Sed tamen, quare acciderit, ut ex meis superioribus literis id suspicari, quod scribis, nescio. Quid enim fuit in illis praeter querelam temporum, quae non animum meum magis sollicitum haberet, quam tuum? Nam non eam cognovi aciem in-

genii tui, quod ipse videam, te id ut non putem videre. Illud miror, adduci potuisse te, qui me penitus nosse deberes, ut me existimares aut tam improvidum, qui ab excitata fortuna ad inclinatam et prope jacentem desciscerem: aut tam inconstantem, ut collectam gratiam florentissimi hominis effunderem, a meque ipse deficerem, et, quod initio semperque fugi, civili bello interesssem. Quod est igitur meum triste consilium? ut discederem fortasse in aliquas solitudines? Nosti enim non modo stomachi mei, cujus tu similem quondam habebas, sed etiam oculorum, in hominum insolentium indignitate, fastidium. Accedit etiam molesta haec pompa lictorum meorum, nomenque imperii, quo appellor. Eo si onere carerem, quamvis parvis Italiae latebris contentus essem. Sed incurrit haec nostra laurus non solum in oculos, sed jam etiam in vuculas malevolorum. Quod cum ita esset, nihil tamen unquam de profectiōe, nisi vobis approbantibus, cogitavi. Sed mea praediola tibi nota sunt. In his mihi necesse est esse, ne amicis molestus sim. Quod autem in maritimis facillime sum; moveo nonnullis suspiciōem, velle me navigare: quod tamen fortasse non nollem, si possem ad otium. Nam ad bellum quidem qui convenit? praesertim contra eum, cui spero me satisfecisse; ab eo, cui tamen satisfieri nullo

nullo modo potest? Deinde sententiam meam tu facillime perspicere potuisti jam ab illo tempore, cum in Cumanum mihi obviam venisti. non enim te celavi sermonem T.² Ampii: vidi-
sti, quam abhorrerem ab urbe relinquenda, cum audissem. Nonne tibi affirmavi, quidvis me potius perpeffurum, quam ex Italia ad bellum civile exiturum? Quid ergo accidit, cur consilium mutarem? nonne omnia potius, ut in sententia permanerem? Credas hoc mihi velim, quod puto te existimare, me ex eis miseriis nihil aliud quaerere, nisi ut homines aliquando intelligant, me nihil maluisse, quam pacem: ea desperata, nihil tam fugisse, quam arma civilia. Hujus me constantiae puto fore ut nunquam poeniteat. Etenim memini, in hoc genere gloriari solitum esse familiarem nostrum Q. Hortensium, quod nunquam bello civili interfuisset. Hoc nostra laus erit illustrior, quod illi tribuebatur ignaviae. De nobis id existimari posse non arbitror. Nec me ista terrent, quae mihi a te ad timorem fidissime, atque amantissime proponuntur. Nulla est enim acerbitas, quae non omnibus, hac orbis terrarum perturbatione, impendere videatur: quam quidem ego a republica meis privatis et domesticis incommodis libentissime, vel istis ipsis, quae tu me mones, ut caveam, redemissem. Filio meo, quem tibi carum esse gaudeo, si erit
ulla

ulla respublica, satis amplum patrimonium relinquam in memoria nominis mei. Sin autem nulla erit: nihil accidet ei separatim a reliquis civibus. Nam quod rogas, ut respiciam generum meum, adolescentem optimum mihiq̃ carissimum: an dubitas, cum scias, quanti cum illum, tum vero Tulliam meam faciam, quin ea me cura vehementissime sollicitet? et eo magis, quod in communibus miseriis hac tantum oblectabar specula, Dolabellam meum, vel potius nostrum, fore ab iis molestiis, quas libertate sua contraxerat, liberum. Velim quaeras, quos ille dies sustinuerit, in urbe dum fuit, quam acerbos sibi, quam mihi ipsi socero non honestos. Itaque neque ego hunc Hispaniensem casum exspecto, de quo mihi exploratum est ita esse, ut tu scribis: nec quidquam astute cogito. Si quando erit civitas, erit profecto nobis locus. Sin autem non erit, in easdem solitudines tu ipse, ut arbitror, venies, in quibus nos consedissee audies. Sed ego fortasse vaticinor, et haec omnia meliores habebunt exitus. Recordor³ enim desperationes eorum, qui senes erant, adolescente me. Eos ego fortasse nunc imitor, et utor aetatis vitio. Velim ita fit. Sed tamen togam praetextam texi Oppio puto te audisse. Nam Curtius noster dibaphum cogitat: sed eum infector moratur. Hoc adpersi, ut scires me tamen in stomacho solere ridere:

dere: Dolabellae, quod scripsi, suadeo videas, tanquam si tua res agatur. Extremum illud erit: nos nihil turbulenter, nihil temere faciemus. Te tamen oramus, quibuscunque erimus in terris, ut nos liberosque nostros ita tueare, ut amicitia nostra et tua fides postulabit. Vale.

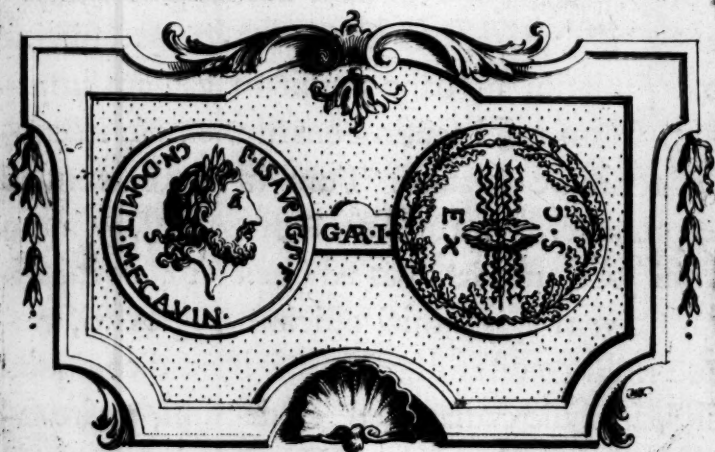
EPISTOLA XXVI.

COELIUS CICERONI S.

ERGO¹ me potius in Hispania fuisse tum, quam Formiis, cum tu profectus es ad Pompeium? quod utinam aut Appius Claudius in ista parte, aut C. Curio: cujus amicitia me paulatim in hanc perditam causam imposuit. Nam mihi sentio bonam mentem iracundia et amore ablatam. Tum tu porro, cum ad te proficiscens noctu Ariminum venissem, dum mihi pacis mandata das ad Caesarem, et mirificum civem agis, amici officium neglexisti, neque mihi consuluisti. Neque haec dico, 'quod diffidam huic causae: sed, crede mihi, perire satius est, quam hos videre.' Quod si timor vestrae² crudelitatis non esset, ejecti jam pridem hinc essemus. Nam hic nunc, praeter foeneratores paucos, nec homo, nec ordo quisquam est, nisi Pompeianus. Equidem jam effeci, ut maxime plebs, et, qui antea noster fuit, populus vester esset. Cur hoc, inquis? immo reliqua exspecta.

Vos

Vos invitos vincere coegero. ³ Irritavi in me Ca-
tonem. Vos dormitis : nec haec adhuc mihi vi-
demini intelligere, quam nos pateamus, et quam
simus imbecilli. Atque hoc nullius praemii spe
faciam : sed, quod apud me plurimum solet va-
lere, doloris atque indignitatis causa. Quid istic
facitis ? proelium exspectatis, quod ⁴ firmissi-
mum est ? Vestras copias non novi. Nostri val-
de depugnare, et facile algere, et esurire con-
sueverunt. Vale.



THE
REMARKS
UPON THE
EPISTLES.

THE
REMARKS
UPON THE
EPISTLES

THE
INTRODUCTION
TO THE
Remarks upon the Epistles.

I THINK myself excused from saying any thing in commendation of Cicero's letters in an age and country, wherein so high a value is set upon Cicero's merit. The reader of the following remarks will be apt to think, that I have more occasion to make an apology for my own undertaking. For it is late in the world to give an edition of any part of the works of so admired a writer; and has the appearance of little modesty to attempt it after such great names, as Victorius, Manutius, Graevius, &c. But if any one shall think it worth his while to compare what I have done with the labours of those excellent critics, he will find both many things taken notice of by me, which have been omitted by them; and an endeavour to make their observations more universally useful. For after an unpleasant and disagreeable research into most of the commentators, I have not contented myself, either with retailing their remarks; or selecting the best of them; but have drawn up an entire sett of notes, which I venture to call my own. For though, the same materials being common to all, many things must necessarily be said, which have been already observed by others; yet I flatter myself, that my observations, both with regard to the matter and manner of them, will be so well calculated and contrived for the advantage and convenience of my reader, that he will not think either his own time unusefully employed in reading them, or mine in writing them. And for my own part, I shall think my pains abundantly recompensed,

penſed, if I become an inſtrument of diſperſing into a greater number of hands, and of making our youth better acquainted with one of the moſt valuable remains of antiquity.

It cannot be denied, but that the letters to Atticus are more to be eſteemed than the foregoing collection. For the particular friendſhip, which Cicero had for him, made him ^a write with greater freedom and ſincerity; drew out his real opinion of men and things; and laid open the moſt hidden ſprings and motives of action. But though this be allowed, and I willingly own, that in his other correſpondence he ſometimes writes with art and deſign, and often aſſumes the character of the conſummate ſtateſman and refined politician; yet he more frequently appears without diſguiſe or affectation, and plainly diſcovers, that neither intereſt, nor buſineſs could ever make him give up the pleaſures of unreferved friendſhip and mutual confidence, or exempt him from the influence of ſo agreeable a paſſion.

The letters to Atticus have been ſome years ſince publiſhed by Mr. Mongault with an excellent french tranſlation and judicious comment in the ſame language. And that ^b learned gentleman's performance hath not only received the approbation of his own countrymen, for whoſe particular benefit he wrote; but alſo the approbation of every other perſon, who reads Cicero with a view of improving his own taſte and good ſenſe.

In the execution therefore of my work, both agreeable to my own judgment, and in complaiſance to the general opinion of the world, I have purſued, as cloſely, as I could,

^a Ad Att. 8. 14. et ſimul (crede mihi) requieſco paulum in his miſeriis, cum quaſi tecum loquor.---- Sed, ut ſupra dixi, tecum perlibenter loquor. ---- Ego tecum, tanquam tecum loquor. Corn. Nep. in vit. Attici.

^b See Preface to Life of Cicero, pag. 30.

that very plan, which the french editor seems to have sketched out for himself. In my text I have in most places followed the late edition of Olivet ; and in my notes have endeavoured rather to explain my author, and make him understood ; than display my own sagacity, or learning : and the only material things, wherein I have presumed to differ from the common editions, are, the language, in which my comment is written, and the order and disposition of the letters themselves.

But had I intended to have consulted my own ease in writing, or perhaps my reputation as a scholar ; I ought to have made use of the common language and expressions of a critic. For they are not only easily learned from a moderate acquaintance with such sort of writers, but also recommended by a pompous appearance of learning, and the general practice of men of the highest rank in the republic of letters. But neither my own ease and reputation, nor the example of others, had any weight with me in this point. I chose rather to run the hazard of censure, and to combat prejudices, that only concerned myself, and, if they prevailed, would only end to my own disadvantage, than not consult the ease and convenience of my reader. For, whatever objections may arise from another quarter, I am sure, that the generality of those, who want to be assisted in the understanding of Cicero's letters, will be more willing to read a comment in plain and intelligible english ; than one, that is conceived in barbarous latin and the hackneyed phrases of criticism : and, with regard to myself, I wish with honest Lucilius^c to have those for my readers, who are neither entirely ignorant, nor

^c Cic. de orat. lib. 2. 6. C. Lucilius, homo doctus, et perurbanus, dicere solebat ea, quae scriberet, neque ab indoctissimis, neque ab doctissimis legi velle, quod alteri nihil intelligerent, alteri plus fortasse, quam ipse [de se intelligi vellet.]

too learned : and if they reap the advantage, which I propose, I hope there will not be wanting either good nature or candor in what is said or thought by others.

In changing the order of the letters I have endeavoured to restore them to that situation, in which I think they were originally placed by the first publishers of them. For I have put the letters to the same person together, and have disposed them in the very order of time, in which they seem to have been written. But though in doing this I have proceeded with great caution, and supported my conjectures from the history of the times and the matter of the letters themselves ; yet I own I cannot be confident, that I am always in the right. For the letters, which are now extant, being only a small part of what were written either by Cicero or his friends, and being probably collected from mutilated and imperfect copies, the connections between each other are so entirely broken in many places, that it is impossible to arrive at any certainty.

But having hinted at the original disposition of the letters, the curiosity of the reader may probably be excited to desire some little information upon that subject : and as it has not been hitherto, I think, sufficiently explained, I will lay before him a short history of them, as it is delivered to us from the earliest tradition.

It appears from the letters of Cicero himself, that many collections of the correspondence between him and his friends were published in his own life-time : some without his permission and knowledge ; and others by his immediate order and direction. The controversy^d in particular, which had been started between Licinius Calvus and him, upon the most perfect eloquence or manner of

^d Quintil. lib. 12. c. 1. Tacit. dial. de orat. c. 18. Cic. de clar. orat. 81. Life of Cic. vol. 2. p. 534.

speaking,

speaking, and upon which several letters had been exchanged with an ingenuous freedom and friendly indulgence to each others opinions, was contrary to his intention and approbation handed about in Rome. For, Trebonius blaming Cicero for giving a character to Licinius, which he did not deserve; he defends himself in a letter, that is now^e extant, by telling him, that he knew it to be wrong; but that he did it to encourage Licinius, and never thought that his letters would be seen by any one else.

And in another^f letter, which was written to Atticus the year before his death, we find, that he was at that time himself employed in collecting some of his letters together, and revising and correcting them with an intention of making them public. *Habet Tiro instar septuaginta. Et quidem sunt a te quædam sumendæ. Eas ego, oportet, perspiciam, corrigam. Tum denique edentur.*

But for want of further light it is impossible to determine either what particular collections, or how many were published during his life-time. This however is certain from the accounts of the ancient Grammarians, that they were compiled in separate collections under the names of the persons, to whom they were written, and that several actually subsisted many ages after his death, which are now entirely lost. Macrobius, Suetonius, Priscian, Nonius and others, quote many passages under the several titles of a second book to C. Nepos; a first, second and third to J. Cæsar; a first, second and third to Octavius; a first and third to Pansa; a second, fifth and ninth to Hirtius; a first and second to his son, &c. And A. Gellius in particular

^e Lib. 15. Ego illas Calvo literas misi non plus, quam has, quas nunc legis, existimans exituras. Aliter enim scribimus, quod eos solos, quibus mittimus; aliter, quod multos lecturos putamus.

^f Ad Attic. lib. 16. 5.

cites a passage, that is now extant in a letter of Pollio's in the following manner, * *Ita enim scriptum est in libris epistolarum ad Plancum in epistola Asinii Pollionis ad Ciceronem.* And Nonius Marcellus in his treatise *de honestis et nove veterum dictis* does not differ from the general practice, for under the word *Comedim* he refers to a letter of Cicero to Pætus under the title of a collection of those to Varro: *Cicero ad Varronem epistola Pæti*. There cannot therefore be any reason to hinder us from concluding, that they did not then subsist in the present form of sixteen books, but that either the correspondence with every distinct person made a separate and distinct collection, or else, when the number of letters to any particular person were not sufficient for that purpose, the letters to several persons were collected together, and went under his name, who bore the principal share in the collection.

It is not unlikely, but that they continued in this condition till the fourth or fifth century, when learning and a taste for the liberal arts sunk with the glory and reputation of the Roman empire, and were soon after involved in that universal darkness and confusion, which was about that time introduced into Italy and the other parts of Europe, by the uncontrollable power of the Goths and Vandals. During the unhappy period of their dominion, which was so fatal to learning and science, we can scarce trace the least footsteps of any taste for fine writing and the monuments of the Ancients. Their works were not only despised and neglected, but spoiled and destroyed, and suffered in the general calamity, all the dismal effects, that can be conceived to arise from the plunder, rapine and devastation, which war had begun, and the insolence of ignorance and Gothic barbarism completed. But after some length of time the storm blew over, the clouds dis-

* Lib. 1. c. 22. See also, Life of Cicero, vol. 2. 524.

persed,

perfed, and the chearful dawn of science and learning began to difcover itfelf by flow degrees to the world. About the twelfth or thirteenth century fome few men of fuperior capacities and uncommon fpirits awoke from the general flumber, and with aftonifhment and wonder beheld the havock, which had been made. They faw the nobleft buildings, that had ever been erected upon the folid foundations of fenfe and reafon; the pride of human wit and human underftanding; the productions of the exalted and towering genius's of Greece and Rome all overturned and demolifhed. They wept over the ruinous heap, like Æneas over the lively representations of the ruins of Troy;

*Ut fpolia, ut currus, utque ipfum corpus amici
Tendentemque manus Priamum confpexit inermes.*^a

and like him too, they took courage from the profpect, and promifed to themfelves immortal reputation from fearching in the rubbifh, and collecting the fattered remains, which had efaped the hand of the deftroyer. And¹ to the labor and induftry of one of thefe we are moft probably obliged for the foregoing letters; who threw the fragments of the feveral collections together as he happened to find them, and formed that irregular and unconnected fystem, that has been fince delivered down to us in all the manufcripts, and continued from thence in all the editions, except^{*} one, from the firft, that was printed at Rome in the year 1467 by Sweynheim and Pannartz, to thofe of the prefent times.

^a Virg. AEn. 1. 490. ¹ See obfervations on the letters between Cic. and Brutus by the learned Dr. Tunftall, p. 83. ^{*} Edit. ab Adamo Theodoro Sibero Adami F. cum notis Jufti a Dransfeld, Lipf. 1697. 8^{vo}. I never faw this edition; but as far as I can gather from the account, that is given of it by Fabricius, the editor followed the chronological order of Sigonius, and mixed the correpondencies of the feveral perfons together.

Fabricius¹ is of opinion, that these letters were undiscovered till the days of Petrarch, who flourished about the middle of the fourteenth century. But he is undoubtedly mistaken: for schools of learning were set up, and the works of Cicero sought after long before his time. Lupus² Ferrariensis tells us himself, in one of his letters, that he had got some copies of Cicero's epistles, and that he intended to correct the faults in his own manuscripts by the assistance of others, which he had procured from his friends. And John of Salisbury, who was born in the beginning of the twelfth century, cites two of Cicero's letters to Cassius, which are still extant. But I need not say any thing more upon this subject: for as it is of little moment to the reader, to know the exact time of their discovery, so I did not intend to carry him any further into this enquiry, than would be necessary to convince him, that I have not introduced the alterations which I have made, without reasons drawn from unquestionable facts and the clear testimony of antiquity. He will perhaps think it more to the purpose to be informed, before he comes to the reading of the letters, that all that are here published, were written in the latter part of Cicero's life: there being none earlier, than the year, in which he was consul; and the latest are carried down to within a few months of his death.

But before I proceed to my remarks, I must pay my acknowledgments to Dr. Mead for the use of a manuscript copy of the letters, which he was pleased to lend me out of his valuable collection, with a politeness and civility peculiar to his own character. It is written in a fair and legible hand upon vellum; and though, for want of a date,

¹ Fabric. Bib. lat. 1. p. 110. *Epistolarum ad diversos, quos Franciscus Petrarcha reperit Vercellis, &c.* ² Ep. 69. as quoted by Dr. Tunstall, p. 17. and also John of Salis. p. 28.

and not knowing its history, I cannot precisely determine its age ; yet, as near as I can guess from some internal marks, it appears to have been written four or five hundred years ago. For it^a has all the abbreviations common to the books of that time ; & is made part of a word as *delect&*, and a single *e* is used instead of the diphthong. Nor ought I to forget my obligations to the very learned and elegant writer of the history of Cicero's life. His excellent work, which does a credit to the english language, and will be highly valued as long as any taste for fine writing and polite letters continues amongst us, has been of great service to me in understanding and explaining the letters. But how far I have succeeded either in using these, or other helps, or adding any thing of my own, in order to make the letters more plain and intelligible, I willingly submit to the candor and judgment of the reader.

^a See Casley's preface to catalogue of MSS. in the King's library, p. 7.

THE
REMARKS
UPON THE
FIRST BOOK.
EPIST. I.

THIS letter was written upon the 13th of January A. U. 697. to P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, who had been consul the year before, and was now pro-consul of Cilicia. At his departure from Rome, he left his affairs to the management of Cicero, and particularly desired him to use all his power in procuring a commission for him to restore Ptolemy Auletes to the throne of Egypt, from which he had been driven by his rebellious Subjects. Cicero warmly espoused his interest, and in this and the following letters to Lentulus gives him an account of what was done in that affair. Dio. l. 39. p. 109. Life of Cic. v. I. 427.

² *Nisi perfecta re, de me non conquiesci*] Lentulus was very vigorous and active in recalling Cicero from banishment. Immediately after his obtaining the consulship, he undertook that business, and never desisted, till he had procured his restoration. Cicero takes notice of it in the following manner in another place. *Orat. pro Dom. 27. P. Lentule, tribunis plebis referentibus, sententiam de me designatus Consul saepe dixisti: ex kal. Jan. quoad perfecta res est, de me retulisti: legem promulgasti, tulisti.*

³ *Senatus religionis calumniam, non religione, sed malevolentia et illius regiae largitionis invidia comprobatur*] “The
“ senate

“ senate admits the groundless plea of religion, not from
 “ any scruple of religion, but ill-will and hatred to the
 “ cause itself, which the scandalous bribery, practised by
 “ the king, had raised against him.” For *Calumnia* signifies in this place a false pretence invented to serve a present purpose. And in this sense it is frequently used by Cicero. Thus lib. 2. ad Quin. ep. 2. *sed per obrectatores Lentuli res Calumnia extracta est*; that is, *impedimento falso impedita aut dilata*. The case was this: when this affair was first moved in the senate, they seemed inclined to grant a commission to Lentulus; and passed a decree in his favour, but afterwards either through the intrigues of Pompey, or out of envy to Lentulus, or a dislike to the thing itself, they contrived all the means they could to obstruct it. And C. Cato, one of the tribunes, in particular, having occasion to consult the Sibylline oracles upon account of some late prodigies, accidentally met with some verses, which forbade the Roman people to restore a king of Egypt with an army. The senate greedily seized upon this pretext, and proceeded to this remarkable vote, that it seemed dangerous to the republic to restore the king with a multitude. Dio. l. 39. Life of Cic. v. i. 430. Lucan. phar. 8. 823.

⁴ *Pompeium—monere, ut magnam infamiam fugiat, non desistimus.*] The infamy and scandal of being bribed by Ptolemy and his agents: the fear of which probably hindered Pompey from appearing openly in the cause, though the zeal of his friends laid him open to suspicion. *Libonis et Hypsei non obscura concursatio et contentio, omniumque Pompeii familiarium studium, in eam opinionem rem adduxerunt, ut Pompeius cupere videatur.* See also the next letter.

⁵ *Marcellinum tibi esse iratum scis.*] Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus was one of the consuls at this time. Cicero gives him the character of one of the best magistrates,

strates, that he had ever known, and blames him only for treating Pompey on all occasions too rudely. But he had an entire aversion to him, and was angry with Lentulus for encouraging and promoting the law in the foregoing year, by which the whole administration of the corn and provisions of the republic was granted to Pompey for five years: and it appears from a passage in the letter under our present consideration, that this thing had raised many more enemies to Lentulus. For Cicero tells him, that all those, who are enemies to Pompey, are also enemies to him. *Cui qui nolunt, iidem tibi, quod eum ornasti, non sunt amici.*

⁶ *Quod commodo rem facere possis.*] Hortensius, Cicero and Lucullus, being forced by the general clamour to yield to the plea of religion, urged, that Lentulus, to whom the senate had already decreed it, should have the commission to restore the king; because the situation of his province made it very convenient for him. *Quod commodo rem facere possis*, or as Cicero expresses himself more fully in other places, *quod commodo tuo rem facere possis*. So in a letter to Atticus, l. i. ep. 4. *nunc vero censeo, quod commodo tuo facere poteris, venias ad id tempus*. There is a conjecture of Manutius, that is admitted into the text of the edition by Lambin, and confirm'd by the authority of the Vatican MS. which I cannot help taking notice of. For he reads in this place, *quod commodo reipublicae facere possis*. Cicero writes thus upon other occasions, but I leave it to the judgment of the reader to chuse which he likes best.

⁷ *Censet enim etiam ex iis, qui cum imperio sunt.*] M. Licinius Crassus, though he was at variance with Pompey, and did not mention him by name, yet seems to favour him, by limiting the commission to three ambassadors, who were to be chosen from amongst those, *qui cum im-*
perio

perio essent, that is, who had a power of enlisting and leading an army against the enemy. For it appears from a passage in the 5th Philippic oration, c. 16. that *imperium habere* is to have a commission for the execution of military affairs. *Demus imperium Caesari, sine quo res militaris administrari, teneri exercitus, bellum geri non potest.* This power belonged only to the superior magistrates and the governors of provinces, and was distinguished from the civil execution of their office. It being originally conferred upon them, when the necessities of the state required it, and in a different assembly of the people, Liv. lib. 5. 52. The adviser of this opinion is the celebrated Crassus, who used to say, that no man could be accounted rich, who was not able to maintain an army out of his own rents. He raised immense wealth by the purchase of the estates, which had been confiscated by Sylla, and seems to have owed his advancement in the commonwealth more to the intrigues of party, and the influence of his riches, than to any other valuable qualification. He was one of the first triumvirate with J. Caesar and Pompey, and in the year after this letter was written was consul a second time with the latter. And in the latter end of it set out upon the expedition against the Parthians, in which by his rashness he unfortunately disgraced the Roman name, lost his own life, and that of his son, a youth of great expectations. Fig. Annal. A.U. 275. Gruch. refut. adv. Sigon.

^s *Qui, Lupo referente, Pompeio decernit.*] Though every private senator might deliver his opinion with all freedom, when it came to his turn, yet the senate could not take any notice of it, nor enter into a debate upon it, unless it was espoused and proposed to them in form by some of the magistrates. Volcatius therefore did not refer his own opinion in favour of Pompey himself, but P. Rutilius Lupus, one of the tribunes, who was not only a friend

to Pompey in this affair, but also continued firm to his interest in the civil war between him and Caesar. *Mid. on the R. Senate, p. 155.*

⁹ *Nos in causa auctoritatem eo minorem habemus, quod tibi debemus.*] Cicero very artfully alledges this, as an excuse of his ill success in this affair. And in another letter, when things had a much worse prospect with regard to Lentulus, he mentions it again. *Nostri propugnatio ac defensio dignitatis tuae, propter magnitudinem beneficii tui, fortasse plerisque officii majorem auctoritatem habere videatur, quam sententiae,* *epist. 7.*

EPIST. II.

¹ *IDIBUS Januariis in senatu nihil est confectum*] This letter was written about two days after the former upon the 15th of Jan. and gives Lentulus a farther account of the debates of the senate upon the same subject. Caninius, who by his disputes with the consul Marcellinus, prevented their coming to any resolution, was one of the tribunes, and devoted to Pompey's interest.

² *Postulatum est, ut Bibuli sententia divideretur*] When an opinion was proposed to the senate, which was thought too general, and to include several distinct articles, some of which might be approved, and others rejected, it was usual to require that it might be divided, that is, that the several parts might be propounded to them, and voted by them separately. Thus Bibulus proposed, that they might submit to the advice of the Sibylline oracle, and appoint three private senators to restore the king. But the house required, that they might vote separately upon those two questions, and the event was, that they unanimously agreed to the former; but rejected the latter. *De tribus legatis frequentes ierunt in alia omnia.* For *censere*, or *ire in alia omnia* is the common expression, by which was denoted

denoted the rejecting a motion that was proposed; as appears from the form made use of by the consul or presiding magistrate, when he called upon the senate to divide: *Qui hoc censetis, illuc transite; qui alia omnia, in hanc partem.* Fest. in voc. *qui.* Manut. de Senat. Rom. c. 9. Middl. on the R. S. p. 157.

³ *Cum Lupus trib. pleb. — intendere coepit, ante se oportere discessionem facere, quam consules.*] Lupus claimed the privilege of dividing the house upon his question, because he was a magistrate, before the consuls divided it upon that of Hortensius, who was but a private senator. But this was contrived only to waste the time, and lengthen their debates beyond the legal hours of doing business. For the consuls had undoubtedly the right of proposing the questions, in what order they pleased, and the inferior magistrates had only that power, when they refused to do it. Heinec. Antiq. Rom. lib. 1. tit. 2. 51.

⁴ *Nam ii]* The person, who was joined in the consulship with Marcellinus, was L. Marcius Philippus; who from the little mention that is made of him, seems to have been entirely under the influence of his colleague. Pig. Annal. U. C. 697.

⁵ *a. d. xvi.]* That is, *ante diem decimum sextum kalendas februarias* or *februarii*. It is an elliptical expression, and to be compleated in this manner: *ante diem decimum sextum finitum ante kalendas feb.* It is common amongst the latin writers to use *ante* or *post diem primum*, &c. for *ipso die primo*, &c. Thus Livy, lib. 6. c. 1. *post diem tertium obiectus hosti Romanus exercitus*, instead of *die tertio*. And what is still more to our purpose, Ulpian. lib. 19. ad edic. expressly says, *qui ante Kalendas proximas stipulatur, similis est ei, qui kalendis stipulatur*. And Paulus, another Civilian, that in the two expressions *ante diem decimum kal.* et *post diem decimum kal.* neutro sermone undecim dies significantur.

cantur. lib. 3. ad leg. Pap. et Jul. And in this sense we ought to understand the following expression in St. Marc, c. 8. v. 31. καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστῆναι, that is, *die tertio resurgere*, and not as it is in our english version, *after three days rise again*. Cujac. observ. 1. 22. Bos. in Cic. ad Attic. 1. 1.

⁶ *Quod ad popularem rationem.*] Cicero having informed Lentulus of all that had been done in the senate, bids him be under no apprehensions upon account of any law, that might be passed by the people, prejudicial to his interest; he having taken all the proper measures to prevent it. For it could not be done *salvis auspiciis*: because he had provided some augur or other to dissolve the assembly by declaring, that he was observing the heavens and taking the auspices. For it was unlawful by the Ælian and Fufian laws to transact any business with the people, while that was doing. These two laws were made A. U. 597, and were the main support of the aristocratical interest, and a perpetual curb to the petulance of factious tribunes. Clodius indeed, in order to carry his point against Cicero, had repealed them; but from this and several other instances, which I could bring of their continuing in force; it appears either, that he repealed but a small part of them; or else, that his repeal was only temporary, and to last no longer than was necessary for him to compleat his design against Cicero. Ascon. in Piso. c. 4. Dio. l. 38. Life of Cic. v. 1. p. 330, 425.

⁷ *Aut salvis legibus.*] It was constituted by the laws, that every tribune should have a power of inhibiting and controuling the acts and proceedings of any of the magistrates in the assembly of the people, by putting a negative upon a law at the time, when it was going to be enacted. This was called *intercessio* and *intercedere*; and the form of doing it was conceived in one word *veto*. Cicero had
pro-

probably secured one or more of the tribunes to interpose, if any thing should be attempted against the interest of Lentulus: there were two in particular, Racilius and Plancius, who were under his influence. Ep. ad Quint. l. 2. ep. 1. The obnunciation therefore of an augur, and the intercession of a tribune being secured, nothing could be transacted with the people but by open violence: and against this Cicero had no security. Thus ep. 4. *Ego tibi a vi, hac praesertim imbecillitate magistratum, praestare nihil possum.* Heinec. Antiq. Rom. lib. 1. tit. 2. 7.

* *De his rebus—senatus auctoritas gravissima intercessit.*] When any determinations of the senate were prevented from passing into a decree by the intercession or negative of a tribune; if the senate was unanimous, they usually passed a vote to the same purpose and in the same words, which, instead of *senatus consultum*, was called *senatus auctoritas*, and was entered into their journals: but it had no other force, than to testify the judgment of the senate on that particular question. This was done in the present case, when Cicero and the friends of Lentulus had attempted to pass a decree, in order to restrain the tribunes from transacting any thing with the people to his prejudice, and the two tribunes Cato and Caninius interceded. Midd. on R. Senate, p. 163. Augustin de S. C. Antiq. Rom. Graev. 2. 1343.

* *Cato.*] C. Porcius Cato was of the same family with Marcus, and an imitator of the virtues of his ancestors, but a man of no temper or prudence. Dio has related a story not much to his credit, that he was suborned by Crassus and Pompey in the latter end of his magistracy to prevent the election of magistrates, in order to make room for their election to the consulship. Pig. Annal. A.U. 697. Life of Cicero, v. I. 427. Dio 39. 115.

EPIST. III.

¹ *AULO Trebonio.*] The situation, which the MSS. and editions have given this letter, is most probably the true one. For Trebonius, whoever he was, having a large trade and extensive property in Cilicia, it is most likely, that Cicero recommended him to Lentulus not long after he entered upon the government of that province.

Gratiosissimus in provincia fuit] The greater part of the MSS. and Dr. Mead's in particular read *gratissimus*, but I think that the other is the true reading. For it is a word frequently used by Cicero, and a little below he hopes, that this recommendation of his will make him *gratiosus*, *have an interest with*, or *be esteemed by Lentulus*; in which place it is probable that he used the same word which he had used before: but in this there is no variation of the MSS.

Commendoque tibi — procuratores.] A *procurator* is a person, that has a legal commission to transact the affairs of one that is absent; or in Cicero's words, he is *omnium rerum ejus, qui in Italia non sit, absque reipublicae causa, quasi quidam pene dominus, hoc est, alieni juris vicarius*. Orat. pro Caec. c. 20. But there are another sort of them, who are called *voluntarii procuratores*; they are those who undertake the business of an absent friend voluntarily, and without any order or commission from him. Cicero alludes to these in a very beautiful passage in his treatise *de claris oratoribus*, c. 4, 5. *mibi quoque, inquit Brutus, et expectanda sunt ea, quae Attico polliceris, etsi fortasse ego a te hujus voluntarius procurator petam, quod ipse cui debes, se incommodis exacturum negat. At vero, inquam tibi ego, Brute, non solvam, nisi prius a te cavero, amplius eo nomine neminem, cujus petitio sit, petiturum.*

Fa-

Familiam.] *Familiae appellatione omnes, qui in servitio sunt, continentur.* Ulpian. l. 1. ff. de vi, &c. And this is the meaning of the word in this place, and a frequent use of it in Cicero and other writers. *Neque dubium est*, says Cicero in the above cited oration, c. 19, *quin, si ad rem judicandam verbo ducimur, non re, familiam intelligamus, quae constet ex servis pluribus.* Phaed. fab. 3. 19. 1. 4. 21. 23.

T. Ampius.] *T. Ampius Balbus* had been *Praetor* in the year 695, and in the following year had the government of the province of Cilicia in the quality of *Propraetor*. *Lentulus* succeeded him, and upon that account Cicero begs him to confirm the decrees, which were made by him. See remark I. 13. ep. b. 6. Fig. Ann. U. C. 696.

EPIST. IV.

¹ *A. D. xvi. kal. Feb.*] Cicero wrote the second letter to *Lentulus* upon the xvi kal. Feb. or the xvth of January in the morning: and had carried on an account of the debates in the senate to that time. In this letter, which was most probably written a day or two after the former, he goes on to acquaint him with what had passed upon that day, and how far his success in the present affair was like to be influenced by it. But he does it with some tenderness, and not in such plain words, as in a letter to his brother dated the 17th of the same month. There he says, *sine dubio res a Lentulo remota videtur esse, cum magno meo dolore: quanquam multa fecit, quare si fas esset, jure ei succensere possemus.* Ep. 2. l. 2.

² *Bibuli sententiam — pridie ejus diei fregeramus.*] The account, that is given in this letter, of the motion of *Bibulus* being rejected by the senate, has been thought by some of the commentators to contradict that, which is given of it in the second letter. For it is said there to have been rejected upon the day after the ides of January; or upon

the 14th according to our computation; but in this letter the time is fixed to the day before the 16th of the kalends of February, or according to the Roman kalendar, as it is now generally compared with ours, upon the 16th of January: so that there is a difference of two days between these two accounts. In order therefore to reconcile them, they have supposed, that there is an error in the numeral characters at the beginning of the letter. But had they recollected, that the month of January had only 29 days in the kalendar of Numa, and that J. Caesar had not yet reformed it to the present standard, they would have seen, that the letters exactly agreed with each other. And that the 17th of the kalends of February did actually correspond with the day after the ides or 14th of January.

³ *Caninius et Cato negarunt se legem ullam ante comitia esse laturos.*] These two tribunes, though of quite opposite parties, were both united in opposing Lentulus; and it was apprehended by his friends, that they might each of them take some violent steps in proposing some law or other to the people, which might be prejudicial to his interest. But they both engaged to be quiet till after the election of Ædiles. Which, as it appears from the letter to Quintus Cicero already referred to, was to be held upon the 20th of January. They had been industriously postponed through all the last summer, in order to prevent the election of Clodius.

⁴ *Senatum haberi ante kal. Feb. per leg. Pupiam — non potest.*] All the days from the 16th of January to the end of the month, except two, are marked in the Roman kalendar for Comitial days, that is, for days that were appointed for the assemblies of the people; and the Pupian law very likely prohibited any meeting of the senate upon them; though upon extraordinary occasions they seem either to have neglected it, or to have interpreted its meaning

ing away. An instance of the former we have in the oration for Murena, c. 25. *Meministis fieri S. C. referente me, ne postero die comitia haberentur, ut de his rebus in senatu agere possemus.* And of the latter in a letter to Quintus 13. b. 2. *Comitialibus diebus, qui Quirinalia sequuntur Appius interpretatur non impediri se lege Pupia, quo minus habeat senatum.* See ep. 2. l. 2.

Neque mense Feb. toto, nisi perfectis aut rejectis legationibus.] The month of February, generally speaking, was reserved for the particular purpose of giving audience to foreign ambassadors by the Gabinian law. Thus Cicero in the last quoted letter to Quintus, *Et quod Gabinia sanctum sit, etiam cogi ex kal. Feb. usque ad kal. Mart. legatis quotidie senatum dari.*

^s *Qui nunc populi nomine.*] Dr. Mead's MS. has *populi Romani nomine*, and one or two of the old editions agree in that reading. But *Romani* is omitted in most of the best MSS. and the editions of Victorius and Gruter. And I think with great reason. For it is unnecessary, and contrary to the general practice of Cicero. Gronov. obser. lib. 3. c. 11.

EPIST. V.

¹ *TAMETSI* mihi nihil fuit optatius.] It has been doubted, whether this letter ought not to be divided into two, because it is not only divided in some of the MSS. but also the latter part seems to refer to something, that happened later than that, which is mentioned in the former. For in the one Cicero thinks, that Pompey has laid aside all thoughts of being employed in the restoration of Ptolemy, but in the other he seems to be under some apprehensions upon that account. But as both parts are united in the greater number of MSS. I am inclined to think, that the one is only a postscript to the other; and if that be allowed, it could

not have been written before the 6th of February, because it gives an account of what happened that day. And which ever is true, it could not have been written after the 10th, for though several important affairs were transacted between that and the 15th, it does not give the least intimation of any of them, ep. 3. ad Q. F. l. 2.

² *Subito exorta est nefaria Catonis promulgatio.*] Cato very unreasonably proposed a law to the people for taking away the government of Lentulus, and recalling him home. It was condemned by every one, and young Lentulus changed his habit upon it, in order to move the people, and hinder them from putting this affront upon his father. *Cato legem promulgavit de imperio Lentuli abrogando. Vestitum filius mutavit.* ep. 2. ad Q. F. l. 2.

³ *Hic quae agantur, &c.*] Cicero having ventured to open to Lentulus, what he thought would be the event of this affair; that either the commission could not be obtained for him, or that the senate would grow tired of it, and let it drop; goes on in a postscript to the preceding part of the letter, to acquaint him of some things that had just then happened; which entirely engaged the attention of Pompey, and gave some reason to think, that he had given over all thoughts of it for himself.

⁴ *Posteaquam Pompeius.*] The whole affair is related at large in a letter to Quintus. Clodius accused Milo of public violence, and breach of the laws, in maintaining a band of gladiators to the terror of the city. Upon the first hearing every thing went on quietly and decently. But upon the second, when Pompey stood up to speak in defence of him, Clodius's mob began to exert their usual arts. But Pompey proceeded with a firmness and presence of mind, which commanded silence in spite of their attempts: and when the affair came to blows, he cleared the forum of his enemies. The day after, the senate was
sum-

summoned, and a decree passed, that *Ea, quae facta essent a. d. VIII Id. contra rempublicam esse facta*. But the tribune Cato inveighed against Pompey with great fierceness, and treated him as a criminal and public offender. ep. 3. ad Q. l. 2. Life of Cic. v. i. 437.

EPIST. VI.

QUAE gerantur ex Pollione accipies.] The bearer of this letter being intimately acquainted with all that had been done either in favour of, or against Lentulus, Cicero leaves the relation of the whole to him, and makes no other allusion to any circumstances or facts, than to the disappointment in general, with which Lentulus met from the coolness of his friends and unjust opposition of his enemies in the Ægyptian affair.

Nam etsi minore in re violatur tua dignitas, quam mea afflicta est.] In some editions the reading is thus, *quam mea afflicta est salus*. But *salus* is omitted in Dr. Mead's MS. and one belonging to Graevius, and in Victorius's edition, and the two of 1474 and 1477, and I believe it ought to be omitted. For *affligere* signifies the same as *evertere*, *prostrernere*: and *dignitas* may as well be said to be *afflicta*, as *salus*. An affront was put upon the dignity of Lentulus because he was hindered from restoring the king, which had been before decreed him by the senate. But Cicero's dignity, when he was sent into banishment, was not only affronted and *violated*, but also intirely demolished, *afflicta et everfa*.

EPIST. VII.

LEGI tuas literas.] This letter is an answer to some, which he had received from Lentulus; and was, I think, written in the latter end of the same year, in which the foregoing letters were written. For he mentions Ra-

cilius as one of the magistrates, at the time, when he was writing. And it is undoubtedly certain, that he was tribune of the people A. U. 697. Sigonius places it at the beginning of the following year, under the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, but the reasons, with which he supports his opinion, are false, and shall be taken notice of in the course of these remarks.

² *Si volo is esse, quem tu me esse voluistis.*] Manutius gives this paraphrase of it: *si volo dignus eo loco esse, in quem me inimicorum injuria pulsum, tua virtus restituit.*

³ *Quoniam intervallo temporum disjuncti sumus.*] Lentulus was consul in the year 696; he had therefore been absent above twelve months from Rome.

Ut eas audeam temere committere.] That is, *ignotis et incertis hominibus.* Thus in a letter to Atticus, *Huic terrae filio committere epistolam tantis de rebus non audeo*, ep. 13. l. 1. or perhaps to the danger of being opened, as he expresses himself in another place, *sed non committendae ejusmodi periculo, ut aut interire, aut aperiri, aut intercipi possint.* ad Attic.

Quod scire vis.] This is an elliptical expression, and frequently made use of by Cicero in his letters, when he passes from one subject to another. It is to be compleated in this manner, *ut ad id respondeam, quod scire vis.* There are several instances of it in this very letter, thus *quod scribis te velle scire*, &c. *quod mihi de filia et de Crassipede gratularis*, &c. but I forbear to enlarge further upon a thing so obvious. See Perizon. annot. ad Sanc. Miner. lib. 4. c. 5.

Et eos maxime, qui te et maxime debuerunt.] In two MSS. and one of the first editions it is, *qui et te amare maxime debuerunt.* In another *maxime* is omitted. Graevius therefore conjectures that we ought to read *eos maxime, qui te amare debuerunt.* But I see no reason to prefer this to the common

common reading. Dr. Mead's MS. agrees exactly with the latter.

⁴ *Hortensium.*] See the character of Hortensius in the life of Cicero, v. 2. 52. or in Cicero de clar. orat. c. 88.

⁵ *Ex magistratibus autem L. Racilius*] Let it be observed, that Cicero ranks a tribune amongst the magistrates. Plutarch therefore must be mistaken in denying that title to belong to a tribune, Quæst. Rom. 80. and Livy 2. 56. must not be understood to speak his own sentiments, but those of an angry consul, when Appius, having sent a Lic-tor to seize the tribune, cried out, that he was *sine imperio, sine magistratu*. For a few pages before he calls the tribunes *magistrates* twice in the compass of three lines, c. 33. *agi deinde de concordia caeptum concessumque in conditiones, ut plebi sui magistratus essent sacrosancti, — neve cui patrum capere eum magistratum liceret.* Cic. de orat. l. 1. c. 7. pro Quint. c. 20. Manut. ad Sallust. de b. J. c. 41.

⁶ *Tempore Caniniano.*] This was a time, when the sincerity of Pompey was put to the severest trial, for Caninius proposed a law to the people to send him into Egypt only with two Lic-tors to restore Ptolemy to his kingdom. And though in this place, whether out of a tenderness for Lentulus, or out of an apprehension of displeasing him upon account of the court, which Cicero was at this time making to Pompey, he represents him as acting an honest and friendly part; yet in a letter to Quintus, where he may be supposed to deliver his real sentiments, he speaks quite differently, *nam quod de Pompeio Caninius agit, sane quam refrigit : neque enim res probatur ; et Pompeius noster in amicitia P. Lentuli vituperatur, et hercule non est idem.* ep. 6. l. 2. The truth of the case is this, Pompey would have been glad to have gone to Egypt himself, but when he found, that it was impossible for him to procure a commission, he pretended a friendship for

Lentulus, and joined with Cicero in giving the advice, which makes a great part of this letter.

Quod si rex amicis tuis, qui per provinciam imperii tui pecunias ei credidissent.] In Dr. Mead's MS. the reading of this passage is thus, *qui per provinciam et imperii tui provincias ei credidissent.* And it is the same in some of the first editions. Either this reading or the common one may be admitted; the sense and the latinity being equally good in both, as far as I can judge. But if any one should want an emendation, I would recommend that of Gronovius, who reads *si rex amicis suis, qui per Ciliciam atque imperii tui provincias ei credidissent.* For Cilicia was a distinct province, but had the jurisdictions of Lycaonia, Pamphylia, and part of Phrygia Major annexed to it.

Eam esse naturam et rationem provinciae tuae.] We ought to read here upon the authority of almost all the MSS. *regionem provinciae tuae.* And this is confirmed by Dr. Mead's, where, by a blunder of the scribe, *religionem* is evidently put for *regionem*. And the meaning of the whole is, *that such is the nature and situation of your province.* For *regio* and *situs* are often synonymous terms, and used promiscuously.

⁷ *Minime miramur te tuis.*] Milo was tribune in the same year, that Lentulus was consul, and was probably influenced by him to declare open war against Clodius, and to contribute all the assistance he could in recalling Cicero from banishment. And after the return of Cicero he uniformly pursued the same measures; always opposed the one, and was united to the other in the strictest friendship. Cicero kindly acknowledges himself obliged to Lentulus for being enabled in this manner to struggle with his inveterate enemy, and politely attributes it to his peculiar address and management. Milo three or four years after the writing of this letter killed Clodius in a skirmish,

was

was defended by Cicero, and notwithstanding that banished.

* *Novitati esse invisum meae.*] The sentence immediately preceding this is mutilated and imperfect in all the copies. The Medicean and the Vatican MSS. agree in reading it thus: *sed et olim nascenti prope nostrae laudi dignitatie simulque quod video.* Dr. Mead's inserts *virtuti*; but none of any credit have either *praefuisti* or *favisti* except one; and that, together with two old editions, hath the latter. Graevius also prefers *favisti*; because *favere laudi alicujus* is a common expression, but *praeesse laudi* is a phrase, which Cicero would not have made use of. But, for my own part, I can see no more impropriety in *praeesse laudi* than in *praeesse temeritati, crudelitati, dignitati, &c.* which are all frequent in Cicero; and I own with so little assistance of the MSS. that I can give no better reading than the common one. But enough of this. It will be more useful to some of my readers to know what Cicero means by *novitati suae*. And in this he boasts of his being the first of his family, that ever emerged out of the native obscurity of a municipal town, and distinguished himself by bearing the highest offices of the state. For that is what is meant by *novitas*, and it is properly opposed to *nobilitas*; in the same manner as *novus homo* is to *nobilis*. Nobility being derived from the number of curule magistracies, which had been born by any family; and *novus homo* being, as he is described by Cicero himself, one, *qui summos honores, homo per se cognitus, sine ulla commendatione majorum, est adeptus.* de Clar. orat. 25.

° *Ut etiam auctoritate jam plus valere.*] The persons referred to in this place are Pompey, Crassus and Caesar. They had, the latter end of this year, a meeting at Luca, and were reconciled to each other; and there formed the project that Pompey and Crassus should seize the consulship

ship for the ensuing year, and at all hazards prevent L. Domitius, one of their professed enemies, from being elected. When they returned to Rome they put their plan in execution, and were assisted in it by the imprudence and folly of the aristocratical party. For the tribune Cato, being angry with Marcellinus, would not suffer him to hold any assemblies for the election of consuls, and Cicero foresaw that, if he persisted in his resolution, this would bring the government into an interregnum, and consequently secure the consulship to Pompey and Crassus. Life of Cicero, v. i. 466. Plut. in Vit. Pomp.

Stipendium Caesari decretum est et x legati.] Caesar sent a request to the senate this year, that he might have money decreed to him for the payment of his army out of the public treasury, and have ten lieutenants to assist him in the management of the war and the government of the conquered provinces. And though these requests were new and extravagant, yet Caesar's interest prevailed, and Cicero himself promoted it, but not without disgusting his old friends. Orat. de prov. cons. Pro Balbo Plut. in vit. Pomp.

¹ *Et ne lege Sempronia succederetur.*] C. Sempronius Gracchus, a tribune of the people, A. U. 631. enacted a law, by which the senate was ordered to assign annually the provinces to the several magistrates, whether the government of them was to be prorogued to the old governors, or new ones to be appointed. About the middle of the summer therefore the senate began to debate concerning the provinces, which were to be assigned to the consuls of the following year after the expiration of their office. The two Gauls, Macedonia and Syria, were the only provinces which came under debate, and the senate in general seemed inclined to recall Caesar from the two former: but Cicero out of resentment to Piso and Gabinius,

nus, and a desire of paying some court to Caesar, managed the debate so well, that the senate came fully into his sentiments, and decreed to continue the command to Caesar, and to recal Gabinius from Syria, and Piso from Macedonia, with some marks of disgrace. The oration, which Cicero spoke upon this occasion, is still extant under the title *De provinciis consularibus*. Sigonius urges this passage in the letter as a proof of its being written in the year 698, but he confounds two things together, the continuing the government to Caesar by not appointing him a successor, and the prolonging it for five years; the former of which, being that which is referred to in the letter, happened in the summer of the year 697, as I have related; and the latter not till the beginning of the year 698, under the consulship of Pompey and Crassus. Pig. Annal. A. U. 631. Life of Cic. v. i. p. 459. Cic. de Prov. Coff.

² *Quod mihi de filia et de Crassipede gratularis.*] Tullia, Cicero's daughter, was married to Fulvius Crassipes, and the wedding feast held at Cicero's house upon the sixth of April. She had been married before, and had lived a widow about a year after the death of her first husband. We find very little said of the character or condition of Crassipes; but by Cicero's care in making the match, the fortune, which he paid, and the congratulation of his friends upon it, he appears to have been a nobleman of principal rank and dignity. Life of Cic. v. i. 450. ad Quint. 2. 4, 5.

E P I S T. VIII.

¹ *De omnibus rebus, quae ad te pertinent.*] This letter was written A. U. 698, in the consulship of Pompey and Crassus: for it refers to the former in the following words; *eo tu consule, quantum ego perspicio, omnia,*
quae

quae vales, obtinebis. It has but little relation to any particular facts, because the bearer of it was able to give an exact account of them to Lentulus by word of mouth. But notwithstanding that, it gives a general view of the state of affairs at that time, and of the change, which the timidity and imprudence of the aristocratical party had forced Cicero to make in his own political conduct and behaviour.

² *Sunt quidem certe in amicorum nostrorum potestate.*) The persons who are meant in this place are Pompey and Caesar. But the friendship which subsisted between them and Cicero plainly appears to have been regulated only by motives of self-interest. The two former behaved with civility to the latter, and expressed an esteem for him, in order to separate him from his old friends, and to procure credit to their own cause ; and he on the other hand paid his court to them out of regard to his own security : not, as he expressed himself in the foregoing letter, *ut nostrae dignitatis sumus obliti, sed ut habeamus rationem aliquando salutis*, for he had learned from experience, that the consideration of dignity ought not to exclude the care of our own safety. Concerning Cicero's real temper, and the doubts with which he was perplexed at this time, see the letters to Atticus, l. 4. or life of Cic. v. i. 467.

³ *Me ad ejus rationes adjungo.*] It is probable, that Lentulus, upon acquainting Cicero with the assistance, which he had received from Pompey in recalling him from banishment, had advised him to unite himself more closely to his measures, than he had ever done before. Cicero, in order to justify his own behaviour, puts him in mind of his former advice, and urges his obligations to Pompey as a reason for changing his behaviour in the present situation of affairs.

Tantum

Tantum enim animi inductio.] *Animi inductio* is generally understood to mean nothing, but a bare inclination to a thing *nudam propensionem, inclinationem*; but it certainly signifies something more in this place, and ought to be interpreted *a firm persuasion or conviction of mind* about the rectitude of Pompey's proceedings. Thus it is used by Cicero in other places, l. 2. Tuf. dif. c. 13. *Nam, dum tibi turpe, nec dignum viro, videbitur gemere, ejulare, lamentari, frangi, debilitari, dolere, tum honestas, tum dignitas, tum decus aderit: tumque in ea intueberis, te continebis, cedit profecto virtuti dolor, et animi inductione languescet.* And also lib. 1. a. d. Q. F. ep. 1. Faber in voc. Mencken. observ. in ling. latin.

* *Amissa est culpa eorum, qui a senatu, &c.*] By the fault of those persons, who had alienated the knights and Pompey from the senate. M. Cato with more honesty than prudence opposed a petition, which the equestrian order made to the senate, to have the rents of the Asiatic provinces lowered; and he prevailed so far as to have it rejected. This produced the effect, which Cicero apprehended. It alienated that whole order from the interests of the senate, and gave Caesar an opportunity of obliging them. For being consul the year after *publicanos, remissionem petentes, tertia mercedum parte, relevavit*, Sueton. In. Jul. Marcellinus, Cato the tribune, and Cn. Piso, and others, behaved always with so great virulence against Pompey, that they compelled him for his own security to desert the senate, and unite himself to Caesar. Piso, in particular, threatened to impeach him, if he would give bail to stand a trial, without raising a civil war. Life of Cic. v. 1. 467. Val. Max. 6. 2. epist. ad Attic. 1. 15. &c.

EPIST. IX.

¹ *Perjucundae mihi fuerunt literae tuae.*] We are enabled to determine the date of this letter by the assistance of one to Quintus, which was certainly written about the middle of October A. U. 699. lib. 3. 2. For, the same matter of fact being referred to in both, it is not unlikely, but that they were written about the same time. The fact, which I mean, is the desire, which Appius expressed, and the schemes, which he laid, to succeed Lentulus in the government of the province after the expiration of the consulship, in which office he was at this time. In this letter it is said, that Appius *in sermonibus antea distitabat: postea dixit in senatu sese, si licitum esset legem curiatam ferre, sortitum esse cum collega provinciam, &c.* In the other to Quintus; *Appius sine lege curiata confirmat se Lentulo nostro successurum.* The whole design of this letter is to explain more largely, than had hitherto been done, the motives of Cicero's behaviour at this time, and to answer some enquiries that had been made by Lentulus in some of his letters concerning two or three remarkable steps, that he had lately taken. It is an elaborate defence of his conduct since he returned from banishment, and plainly discovers the anxiety and uneasiness of his mind at his being forced to change his principles and party.

² *Hoc tempore omni.*] Lentulus had been absent from Rome about three years.

³ *Quaquam tua quidem causa esse imperatorem.*] The word *imperator* signified nothing more in its original use, than the general or chief commander of an army: in which sense it belonged equally to all, who had supreme command in any part of the empire, and was ever used as a peculiar title. But after a victory, in which some considerable advantage was gained, and great numbers of the enemy

enemy slain, the soldiers, by an universal acclamation used to salute their general in the field with the appellation of *emperor*; ascribing as it were the sole merit of the action to his auspices and conduct. This became a title of honour, of which all commanders were proud, as being the effect of success and victory, and won by their proper valour; and it was always the first and necessary step towards a triumph. On these occasions therefore *the title of emperor* was constantly assumed and given to generals in all acts and letters both public and private; but was enjoyed by them no longer than the commission lasted, by which they had obtained it; that is, to the time of their return and entrance into the city, from which moment their command and title expired of course, and they resumed their civil character, and became private citizens. Lentulus had got some considerable advantage against the enemy, and had been saluted emperor by his soldiers: but we are entirely unacquainted with the particulars of his success. Life of Cic. v. i. 243. note l upon the word *emperor*. Appian. lib. 2. Dio. 43.

Et praesentiores praesens capere potuisses.] Dr. Mead's MS. has *praestantiores*. But *praesentiores*, which is the reading of the greater number of MSS. is better. By *praesentiores fructus* we are to understand *more efficacious, more real and sensible advantages*, in the same sense as these other expressions of Cicero: *praesens auxilium, praesens remedium, praesens et praepotens deus*.

* *Quaquam ille perennis inimicus amicorum suorum.*] He means in this place C. Cato, of whom I have already taken notice in the last remark upon the second letter. He had lost his credit by his blunders in politics, and the constant and unseasonable opposition which he made to those of his own party. In this passage, *est ea conatus, quibus patefactis, nullam sibi in posterum non modo dignitatis,*
sed

sed ne libertatis quidem partem reliquit. Cicero seems to refer to his opposing the election of magistrates, and by that means promoting the interest of the triumvirate, and by alluding to some discoveries, which had been made, prejudicial to his character. I do not know whether the story of his being bribed by Pompey and Crassus is not confirmed by this. See rem. 9. ep. 2.

⁵ *Non ita magna mercede.*] The consequence of Cicero's being deserted by his friends, when he was persecuted by Clodius, was banishment and the loss of every thing, that was dear to him. But the consequence of Lentulus being deserted by the same persons, was only the loss of an employment, which he greatly desired. He did not pay so dear for the experience, which he had, of the want of sincerity in his friends. Thus Cicero speaks in another place of himself; *data est merces erroris mei magna.*

⁶ *Hac me mente fuisse, senatus ex me, te consule, audiuit.*] The day after Cicero returned from banishment he went into the senate, and returned thanks to all in general, and to the magistrates in particular, for their zeal, which they had shewn in procuring his recall. And at the same time he explained the principles, upon which he intended to act for the future. The oration, which he spoke upon this occasion, is still extant, ad Attic. ep. 1. lib. 4. pro Planc. 30.

⁷ *Nam neque de monumentis meis ab iis adjutus es.*] *Monumentum* in the writings of Cicero generally signifies any kind of public buildings, by which the memory of some person or action is delivered down to posterity, whether they be erected at the public expence, or out of the fortunes of a private person. Cicero seems to allude here to the *Atrium Libertatis*, which had been built by the order of the senate, after he had quelled the famous Catilinarian conspiracy. For Clodius had erased the inscription, which had been originally placed there, and put his own

name

name instead of it. And Cicero afterwards complains in this very letter, that no one had hitherto courage enough to remove it and replace the old one : *Idemque postea non meum monumentum (non enim illae manubiae meae, sed operis locatio erat) monumentum vero senatus hostili nomine et cruentis iniustum literis esse passi sunt.* See also *orat. de Harusp. resp.* The commentators have supposed this passage to relate to Cicero's own house, but that is very unlikely ; since he takes notice of the coolness of his friends in valuing the repairs of that in the latter part of the sentence.

Neque de vi nefaria.] Whilst the workmen were busy in carrying on the rebuilding of Cicero's house, Clodius came with a body of armed men, and drove them away, and afterwards made an attack upon Quintus Cicero's house, where Marcus and he lived together, and set fire to it : and the two brothers and their families were obliged to fly out for their security. The whole affair is related at large in a letter to Atticus, l. 4. ep. 3. Life of Cic. v. i. p. 422.

Neque hercule in iis ipsis rebus.] The senate had decreed to rebuild Cicero's house at the public expence, and the consuls in consequence of it, took an estimate of the damage, and paid the money to himself. The valuation was very deficient, and cried out against by every one ; but as he says himself in a letter to Atticus, those who had clipt his wings, had no mind to let them grow again, and though they had been his advocates when absent, began now to be secretly angry and openly envious of him, when present. ad Attic. 4. 2. Life of Cic. i. 420.

* *P. Sextium.*] P. Sextius was a tribune of the people A. U. 696, in the consulship of Lentulus, and a great instrument in restoring Cicero. He resisted the faction of Clodius by force of arms, and was upon that account in the following year accused of public violence by M. Tul-

lius Albinovanus. Pompey, notwithstanding he had a commission, which rendered it irregular for him to be within the walls of the city, attended his trial; and Cicero defended him in an excellent oration, that is still extant, and he was acquitted by the suffrages of all the judges. At this trial Vatinius, a creature of Caesar, and one who had been tribune in his consulship, appeared as a witness against Sextius. But Cicero instead of examining him upon the facts in his evidence, put him a series of questions in such an artful manner, that he exposed all the intrigues and iniquity of his tribunate. This examination is still extant under the title of *interrogatio in Vatinium*. ep. ad Q. 2. 4. Life of Cic. v. i. 445. Pig. An. A. U. 694 and 697.

° *Dixi me eam Bibuli fortunam.*] Cicero spoke this in order to clear himself from the charge, which was made against him by Vatinius, and to shew his disinterestedness and independance upon Caesar. For to praise Bibulus was a tacit condemnation of Caesar. They had been colleagues together in the consulship, and opposed each others measures with so much violence, that at the promulgation of an Agrarian law, which Caesar had proposed, Bibulus and his party were driven out of the forum by the superior force of Caesar's mob, which was headed by Vatinius. And afterwards being deserted by the senate, he was obliged to shut himself up for the remainder of his magistracy, and act only by his edicts. It is this condition of Bibulus, which Cicero dared to prefer to the victories and triumphs of all other men whatsoever; and this confinement which he attributed to the same persons, whose coolness and insincerity had occasioned his own banishment. Orat. pro Dom. c. 15. In Vatin. 9. Dio. 38. Sueton. Jul. c. 20. Plut. in Pom. Life of Cic. v. i. 291, &c.

¹ *Ut de agro Campano — id. Maiis referretur.*] Caesar in his consulship procured the promulgation of a law, which decreed a division of the lands in Campania to twenty thousand poor citizens, who had three children or more. Part of these lands were in the possession of private persons, and to be bought with money out of the public treasury; and part were farmed out, and brought a considerable sum yearly into the public chest. It was apprehended therefore, that the division of them would greatly lessen the public stock; and Cicero being an enemy to Agrarian laws, and knowing the great scarcity of money, proposed to the senate, that they should reconsider that affair, and appoint a day for the deliberation upon it. It was unanimously approved by all, but Caesar discovering his displeasure at it, and Pompey interposing, Cicero soon altered his politics, and withdrew his motion. ad Q. F. 2. 3.

² *Ut integrum mihi de causa Campana ad suum reditum reservarem.*] Lambin corrects this passage, and reads it in the following manner: *Ut integram mihi de causa campana ad suum reditum rem servarem.* But Manutius rightly defends the common reading, for it is supported by the authority of Dr. Mead's MSS. and most of the others; and by the common practice of the best writers. Thus Coelius, ep. 12. l. 8. *de Dolabella* integrum tibi reserves, *suadeo*. And also Plancus in another letter to Cicero, l. 10. 17. *Quod si omnia mihi integra et ipse et fortuna servarit.*

³ *Certorum hominum.*] Domitius, Favonius, Cato, Marcellinus, and most of the Aristocratical party.

⁴ *Et meis temporibus.*] When Cinna took possession of the city, and put all Sylla's friends to the sword without either regard to age or dignity. In one of Graevius's MSS. it is read *Cinneis temporibus*: but this is evidently a marginal note, which hath crept into the text, and was intended

originally for an explanation of *meis temporibus*. Flor. l. 14. 2. Appian. de B. C. 1. Vel. Pater. 2. 20.

⁵ *In hac mente impulit.*] This is the reading of Dr. Mead's MSS. and it is recommended by several others of the best character. *In hac mente* hath the same meaning with *in hac sententia*, which is used a few lines before. *In hac sententia complectendus mihi erat Caesar*, and it may be paraphrased in this manner, *gravissime autem, cum ita cogitarem, ita sentirem, impulit me Pompeii fides, &c.*

⁶ *Ea fundamenta jacta ex kal. Jan.*] That, which he alludes to here, is best understood from a similar passage in the oration against L. Piso, c. 2. *ego kal. Jan. senatum et bonos omnes legis agrariae maximarumque largitionum metu liberavi*. P. Servilius Rullus endeavoured to promulgate an Agrarian law, which Cicero opposed with great vigor and resolution; and, notwithstanding it had the appearance of granting to the people more, than had ever been offered to them before, he persuaded them to reject it. This therefore, and the union of the equestrian order with the senate in one common interest, were the foundations of public liberty, the *duo firmamenta reipublicae*, which he boasts of, and which produced the vigorous resolutions, upon the nones of December, against Catiline and his associates in that horrid conspiracy, against the constitution and common liberties of all. ad Attic. lib. 1. ep. 18. Life of Cic. v. 1. 152.

⁷ *Postea cum tu Hispaniam citeriorem cum imperio obtinueris.*] The Romans A. U. 547, having made themselves masters of the greater part of Spain, divided it into two provinces: they called that part which was situated to the west of the river Iberus *Hispania ulterior*; and to the other, which lies between the same river and the Pyrenean mountains, they gave the name of *Hispania citerior*. Lentulus having been praetor the year before Caesar and
Bibulus

Bibulus were consuls, had the government of this latter province during their consulship. He continued there till after Cicero was banished, in the consulship of Piso and Gabinius; who are the two persons, to whom he gives the opprobrious title of *Mercatores provinciarum*, because they had engaged to comply with all the measures of Clodius, provided he would secure to them the best provinces. Liv. 28. Polyb. l. 11. Appian. Hisp. Orat. pro Sext. 10. post. red. in S. 4. Life of Cic. v. 1. 321.

² *Fecit quidam casus caput meum.*] *Caput* is used very frequently for the state, condition or rank, in which a man is placed; or rather for the privileges and advantages which flow from thence. And Cicero in particular seems to comprehend in this place his reputation, his fortunes, his liberty, or in short his *very self*, which were all in danger from the critical situation of affairs at that time. In consequence of this meaning of the word *caput*, every change of condition amongst the Romans, whether it was for the better, or the worse, was called *capitis minutio*: and the lawyers reckon up three sorts, the loss of *liberty*, *citizenship* or *family*, which were described by the distinction of *maxima*, *media* and *minima capitis diminutio*. When a son was set free from the authority of his father, or adopted out of one family into another, he was said to be *capite minutus*. For in one case he passed from a state of subjection to a state of liberty; and in the other, from being a member of the sacred rites of one family to be a member of the sacred rites of another: and this is called *capitis diminutio minima*. This was never inflicted by way of punishment, or considered as a consequence of guilt. But the loss of citizenship or liberty were both capital punishments, *per has enim caput eximitur de civitate*; the former of which was called *capitis diminutio media*, and

the latter *capitis diminutio maxima*. See Dr. Taylor's comment, in leg. x. viralem, p. 12. Manut. de leg. c. 19.

° *Si qui se timere simularunt.*] Pompey, Hortensius, and some others of that party, seem to be the persons, who are alluded to in this place. Pompey grew cool in his friendship for Cicero, and out of an apprehension of being assassinated by Cicero's order, withdrew himself from the city at a time, when his presence was most necessary, and affairs began to draw towards a crisis; though the real motives, which obliged him to desert Cicero, were his engagements to Caesar. As to Hortensius and Cato; they advised him to retreat, till the storm should blow over; and though he complied with this advice, yet he ascribed it to their envy and treachery. And some time after, in a letter to Quintus, he charged the former with "coming every day to his house, and with the greatest professions of "zeal and affection, perpetually insinuating to his hopes "and fears, that by giving way to their present rage, he "could not fail of being recalled with glory in three days "time." Ad Q. I. 3. Life of Cic. v. I. 343.

° *Ufus es quibusdam nobilissimis hominibus.*] Caesar, Crassus, Pompey, Metellus, &c. See life of Cic. v. I. 373, 391, &c. Dr. Mead's MS. reads *in tenendo* instead of *in tuendo*: this is the reading also of some other MSS. but though it be not a bad one, yet there is no reason to depart from the common one: especially since it is used by Cicero a few lines above. *Mirificus consensus in me tuendo extitisset.*

° *Recreatis enim bonis viris, &c.*] Dr. Mead's MS. and several others, read *recreati — boni viri — excitati*. Upon their authority therefore I think this passage ought to be corrected and pointed in the following manner; *Recreati enim boni viri consulatu tuo, et constantissimis atque optimis assignibus*

actionibus tuis excitati: Cn. Pompeio praesertim ad causam adjuncto. Cum etiam Caesar ad austeritatem ejus ordinis adjungeretur, &c.

³ *Illā furia muliebrium religionum.*] Clodius having an intrigue with Pompeia, the wife of Caesar, endeavoured to gain access to her, whilst she was celebrating in her own house the sacrifices of *Bona Dea*, to which no male creature had ever been admitted. Hence he is called *furia muliebrium religionum*, and said to have had no more regard to the sanctity of those venerable rites, than to the chastity of his three sisters; who were said to have been all debauched by him. Vell. Pat. 2. 45. Plut. in vit. Cic. pro Mil. 16. Life of Cic. v. 1. 252. I have taken no notice of the reading of the MSS. in this place, which read *furta religionum*; nor of the conjectures of the critics about it. Because the conjecture of Victorius, which I have admitted into the text, is undoubtedly the true one; and agreeable to the practice of Cicero, who gives this appellation to Clodius in many other places, pro Sext. in Vatin. ad Q. F. l. 3. ep. 1. and particularly calls Piso in the oration, which he spoke against him: *Furia sociorum*.

Impunitatem est illorum sententiis affectus.] Cicero does not mean here, that Clodius was acquitted by the judges; but that he was screened by some powerful friends from being brought to a prosecution. Milo, who was tribune of the people at that time, impeached him in form of violating the public peace, and declared, that he would not suffer any election of *Ædiles*, till he was brought to a trial. But the consul Metellus, Appius, and others, prevented any proceedings against him, and deprived posterity of an illustrious example of the punishment of sedition in the person of the most turbulent citizen, that ever disturbed a state. Graevius conjectures, that Cicero mentioned the name of the tribune, and that we ought to

read, *T. Annius trib. pleb.* and it must be confessed, that his conjecture is supported by Dr. Mead's MS. as well as the others, which he had himself seen. For the reading there is *cum Tyrannus Publio Lentulo* : which error evidently arose from the name *T. Annius*, and the not understanding the meaning of *T. PL*, the common abbreviation for *Tribunus Plebis*. Epist. ad Attic. 4. 3. Life of Cic. v. i. 423.

* *Metelli Lucii filio.*] Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus. He acquired that title by the victories, which he gained over Jugurtha king of Numidia, and was a man of the highest reputation for integrity and honesty at that time in Rome. A. U. 653. L. Appuleius Saturninus a turbulent tribun, and one of Marius's creatures, promulgated a law, that "whatever was decreed by the commons should oblige the whole Roman people, and that the senate should confirm this within five days, and every senator swear to observe it; but that those, who refused to do it, should be expelled the senate, and pay a fine of twenty talents." Metellus resolutely refused to take this oath, and chose to retire from Rome, and submit to an unlawful banishment, rather than raise any disturbances in the state by his continuance there. A. Gellius hath preserved a fragment of one of his letters, which was written in his banishment; from whence we are enabled to form some opinion of his courage and temper of mind in those circumstances. *Illi* (meaning his enemies) *omni jure atque honestate interdicti: ego neque aqua, neque igni careo: et summa gloria fruniscor*, lib. 17. c. 2. Vell. Pater. l. 1. Plut. in Mario et Lucullo. pro Sext. 47. Appian. Vell. liv. 1.

† *M. illum Scaurum.*] In order to make my reader acquainted with the character of Scaurus, I need only transcribe a passage from the writer *de viris illustr.* c. 72.

Nobilis

Nobilis pauper : nam pater ejus quamvis Patricius ob paupertatem carbonarium negotium exercuit, idem dubitavit honores peteret, an argentariam faceret; sed eloquentiae consultus, ex ea gloriam peperit, — Censor viam Æmiliam stravit, pontem Milvium fecit : tantumque auctoritate potuit, ut Opimium contra Gracchum; Marium contra Glauciam et Saturninum, privato consilio armaret. — Senex cum a Vario Trib. pleb. argueretur, quasi socios et Latium ad Arma coegisset, ad populum ait; Varius Sacronensis Æmilium Scaurum ait socios ad arma coegisse, Scaurus negat; utri potius credendum putatis. See also Cic. de clar. orat. 29.

⁶ *Unius tribuni plebis rogatio.*] Q. Calidius was the tribune, and he repealed the law, by which Metellus was banished A. U. 654. with the general consent of the senate and people. Instead of *cunētis ordinibus, hominibus incumbentibus* we ought to read with Graevius *cunētis ordinibus incumbētibz*. For *hominibus* is an unnecessary and absurd repetition in this place:

⁷ *Qui — optimates nominabantur.*] Cicero in his oration for Sextius, c. 45, explains the true meaning of that distinction of the people, which obtained at Rome, into *optimates* and *populares*: *qui ea, quae faciebant, quaeque dicebant, multitudini jucunda esse volebant, populares; qui autem ita se gerebant, ut sua consilia optimo cuique probarentur, optimates habebantur.* Men of this latter character being commonly found amongst those of the highest rank; *Optimates* is frequently used in opposition to *plebs*, and signifies generally the nobility or Aristocratical party, Cic. Tus. disp. I. 45.

⁸ *Cumque cum nec persuadendo nec cogendo regi posse vidisset, cum persuaderi posse diffiderit, cogi fas esse non arbirraretur.*] This is the reading of the MSS. but it is full of mistakes, and hitherto scarce attempted to be corrected by
any

any of the commentators. In the first place it ought to be *suadendo* instead of *persuadendo*, for there is a difference between *suadere* and *persuadere*. The former signifies to *advise* or to *exhort*: the latter to *persuade*, or to prevail by *exhortation* or *advice*. So Cicero, phil. 2. 11. *An C. Trebonio persuasi? cui ne suadere quidem ausus essem.* In the next place *cogendo* must be wrong; for the conclusion would be absurd, and unlike the usual reasoning of Plato, *Quod cum populum Atheniensem nec cogendo regi posse vidisset, cogi fas esse non arbitraretur*; that is, *when he found that they could not be compelled to do that, which was right, he thought it unlawful to compel them.* In the last place there is an unnecessary repetition in one part of the sentence of *that*, which had been said in another: for *cum persuaderi posse diffiderit* is nothing different from *cum eum nec persuadendo regi posse vidisset*. I would therefore read the whole sentence in the following manner: *atque hanc quidem illi causam sibi ait non attingendae reipublicae fuisse: quod cum offendisset populum Atheniensem prope jam desipientem senectute, cumque eum persuaderi posse diffiderit, cogi fas esse non arbitraretur.* Or thus, *quod cum offendisset populum Ath. prope jam desipientem senectute, cumque eum nec suadendo nec rogando regi posse vidisset, cogi fas esse non arbitraretur.* I was led to change *cogendo* into *rogando* from the reading of an old book referred to by Graevius, which hath both those words; *cumque eum nec persuadendo, nec rogando, nec cogendo regi posse vidisset.* Concerning the difference between *suadere* and *persuadere*, see Mr. Markland's remarks upon the letters between Cicero and Brutus, p. 27.

De Vatinius autem.] Vatinius, of whom I have already taken some notice, was by the assistance of Pompey and Crassus chosen praetor A. U. 698, in opposition to Cato. For those two great men were afraid, that, if Cato got into

into power that year, he would give some interruption to the schemes, which they had projected in conjunction with Caesar. Licinius Calvus accused Vatinius in the following year of using unlawful means in procuring the praetorship. Cicero at the intreaty of Caesar defended him : which being so contrary to his old principles, he is put to some difficulty to justify his own conduct. ad Quint. 2. 16. Ascon. in orat. pro Scauro, Quintil. 6. See also the letter from Vatinius, ep. 10. l. 5.

⁹ *Inimicum meum.*] P. Clodius.

¹ *Repentinam ejus defensionem Gabinii.*] From the month of May till the beginning of November in the year 698, there are no letters of Cicero, by which we can be informed of the transactions at that time, and the historians are not very minute in relating them. But it is highly probable that this fresh quarrel with Crassus happened sometime within that interval. Cicero had frequently taken occasion to speak against Gabinus ; and had particularly expressed his resentment, in the debates about the disposition of the consular provinces, and in his invective against Piso. Life of Cic. v. 1. 480.

Quamobrem ejus causam.] See the remarks upon ep. 9. b. 5.

³ *Quaemaxime cum mihi, tum etiam reipublicae rationibus putem conducere.*] The learned Graevius conjectures, that this passage should be read thus: *quae cum maxime mihi, multum etiam reipublicae rationibus putem conducere* : and his conjecture is supported by Dr. Mead's MS. which, though it is very corrupt in the former part of the sentence, yet reads *multum et reipublicae rationibus putem conducere*. The transcribers of MSS. have generally blundered in the expression *cum maxime*, not knowing its true meaning. It signifies the same as *hoc tempore, in praesenti*. An instance from Seneca *de benef.* 3. 3. will make the thing plain

plain: *nemo nostrum novit id tempus, quod cum maxime transit; ad praeterita rari animum retorquent.* Cic. de offic. 2. 7. Terent. Adelpt. 4. 1.

* *Tres libros — de oratore*] This work is now extant and one of the most valuable of all Cicero's performances. It contains three dialogues upon the character and idea of a perfect orator; and the principal speakers are M. Crassus and M. Antonius. The plan is laid in such a manner, that Cicero is not supposed to have been present at the conversation; but he delivers his own sentiments, and explains the notion, which he himself always entertained of a consummate speaker, under the character of Crassus. De orat. 3. 4.

Scripti etiam versibus tres libros de temporibus meis] This poem was written by Cicero after his return from banishment, for Lentulus desired only to have those works sent to him, which had been written *post discessum suum*: and the subject of it seems to have been the several occurrences and behaviour of his friends in that remarkable period of his life. He had delivered his sentiments with great freedom, and upon that account did not communicate it to so many of his friends as he used to do his other works. Atticus had seen it: for there is an allusion to it in a letter to him, ep. 8. l. 4, and it fell into Caesar's hands in Gaul: and his judgment upon it, in a letter to Cicero, was, that the beginning of the first book, (that being the only one which he at that time had read,) was as good as any poem, that he had ever seen, even amongst the Greeks; but then the following lines, to a certain place, were not equally accurate: *reliqua ad quendam locum παθυμώτερα*. Cicero was not satisfied with this declaration, but with some anxiety desires to know of his brother, what Caesar really thought of the whole; whether either the subject or manner of writing displeased him;

him; *Dic verum, num aut res eum, aut χαρακτήρ non delectat.* ad Q. F. 2. 16.

^s *Quod de Quinti Fratris negotio scribis*] Quintus Cicero, the brother of Marcus, had been praetor A. U. 691 and the year following had the government of Asia, where he continued for three years. It is very probable therefore, that the business, recommended to the care of Lentulus, was some money-affairs in that province, which he had left unsettled upon his departure from thence.

Appius in sermonibus antea dictitabat] Appius Claudius Pulcher was consul this year, and had an inclination to succeed Lentulus in the government of Cilicia. The senate had already nominated that province to be one of the consular provinces: but it was usual for the people to confirm the commission of the governor in an assembly of the Curiae. The present disturbances in the state, and the obstinacy of some of the Tribunes made it impossible to carry any law. Appius therefore declared, that if the Tribunes would not permit him to procure a *lex curiata*, he would make a private agreement with the other consul and succeed Lentulus. For a *lex curiata* was not, in his opinion, absolutely necessary. Since by the Cornelian law, the senate had a power of continuing his commission for the execution of military affairs, by their decree, and that commission would be valid, till he returned home again. lib. 4. ad Attic. 16. ad Q. F. 3. 2. The law, upon which Appius grounded his opinion, was made by Cornelius Sylla A. U. 672, when he was dictator and was to this effect. UTI EX LEGE SEMPRONIA SENATUS PROVINCIAS QUOTANNIS CONSTITUERET ET QUIBUS POST MAGISTRATUM EX S C IMPERIUM PRO- ROGATUM ESSET ILLUD NON MINORE JURE QUAM PRO COSS. DONEC IN URBEM REVERTISSENT HABERENT ETIAMSI LEGE CURIATA ILLUD NON
OBTI-

OBTINUISSENT. Fig. Annal. It will not be improper to take notice also of the difference between the two expressions *sortiri provinciam cum collega* and *parare cum collega*. For they refer to the two customs observed by the consuls in the disposition of the consular provinces, either by casting of lots, or by friendly agreement with each other. They are frequently mentioned in Livy: thus 48. 12. *principio insequentis anni cum Coss. novi de provinciis retulissent; primo quoque tempore aut comparare inter eos se Italiam et Macedoniam, aut sortiri placuit*. Manut. de leg. c. x. Sigon. de antiq. jur. provin. 2. 1.

⁷ *Quibus aequitatem tuam non potui non probare.*] Gronovius thinks that Cicero blames Lentulus for that, which he had done with regard to the publicans; and that we ought to read this place thus: *quibus aequitatem tuam non potui probare: felicitate quadam, vellem, consequi potuisses, &c.* But I think the alteration unnecessary. For Cicero might very consistently approve the equity of Lentulus's determination, and at the same time wish, that he had had no occasion of displeasing the farmers of the public revenues. N. B. Some read *facilitate*: but *felicitate* is better, and supported by Dr. Mead's MS.

⁸ *Q. Scaevolae fuerint*] It is difficult to determine which of the Scaevola's is meant here. For two Quintus Scaevola's were praetors in Asia. The one Q. Mucius Scaevola the augur, A. U. 632; the other Q. Mucius Scaevola pontifex, A. U. 654. And both of them employed P. Rutilius Rufus, the former in the quality of *Quaestor*; the latter as *Legatus*. Rutilius, by the command and example of his principals, protected the province from the rapine and oppression of the publicans. But they resented this behaviour, and by their interest sent him into exile. Orat. pro Balb. 13. Font. 13. de nat. deor. 3. 32.

EPIST.

EPIST. X.

'*CUR enim tibi hoc non gratificor*] Victorius and Manutius, two of the most eminent commentators upon Cicero, have disputed; whether this is an entire epistle or no; and have taken opposite sides. The former concludes from the abrupt beginning, that it is only a fragment: but the latter connects the inscription with the first sentence of the letter; and does, I think, by that means remove all difficulty. "To Valerius the Lawyer; for I know no reason why I should not feed your vanity with this title, especially in these times, when confidence supplies the place of wisdom."

The professors of the law were in great esteem at Rome, and by protecting the fortunes of their fellow citizens and giving their advice freely, acquired a reputation for wisdom, and almost appropriated to themselves the title of *sapientes*. Cicero considered it as the only honourable employment for an old man, when age and infirmities had rendered him unfit to engage in affairs of state and the more active scenes of life. *Quid est enim praeclarus, quam honoribus et reipublicae muneribus perfunctum senem posse suo jure dicere idem, quod apud Ennium dicat ille Pythius Apollo, se esse eum, unde sibi, si non populi et reges, at omnes sui cives consilium expetant*

Suarum rerum incerti? quos ego mea ope ex

Incertis certos, compotesque consili

Dimitto, ut ne res temere tractent turbidas.

Est enim sine dubio domus jurisconsulti, totius oraculum civitatis. de orat. 1. 45. With a reference to this, Cicero jocularly uses the word *sapientia* in this letter to Valerius. It is uncertain who this person is, we know nothing more of him, than that he appears to have been an intimate friend

friend of Cicero, and find him recommended to Appius, the successor of Lentulus in the government of Cilicia. ep. 1. l. 3. *L. Valerium jurisconsultum valde tibi commendo: sed ita etiam si non est jurisconsultus. Melius enim ei cavere volo, quam ipse aliis solet. Valde hominem diligo. Est ex meis domesticis atque intimis familiaribus.*

² *Partim te superbum esse dicunt quod nihil respondeas]* Cicero laughs at Trebatius in the same manner l. 7. ep. 12. *qui istinc veniunt, superbiam tuam accusant, quod negent te percunctantibus respondere. Sed tamen est, quod gaudeas, constat enim inter omnes neminem te uno Samarobrivae juris peritorem esse.* The lawyers are properly said *respondere*, when they deliver their opinions upon points of law, and Cicero jocularly insinuates to Valerius, that he has no business and is ignorant in his own profession, *partim quod nihil respondet; partim quod male respondet.* pro Muren. 13.

³ *Neque in Apuliam tuam accedas]* It appears from hence, that Valerius was a native of Apulia, a part of Italy in the kingdom of Naples, situated upon the Adriatic sea. Cicero tells him, that if he returns thither he will do out of pride, what Ulysses did out of artifice and dissimulation; acknowledge none of his own relations and friends. Homer. Odyss. 14.

THE
REMARKS
UPON THE
SECOND BOOK.

EPIST. I.

QUANQUAM me nomine negligentiae] C. Scribonius Curio, to whom this and the six following letters are written, was of an illustrious family in Rome. His father and grand-father had both born the highest offices in the State, and he himself soon discovered such excellent abilities, as greatly raised the expectations of his fellow-citizens. He was admirably formed by nature to fill the character of an universal patron, not only of their fortunes, but of their lives and liberties: but he wanted industry and application. He was of an undaunted courage, which was manifested in most of his actions, but particularly in his behaviour in Africa; where he fought and died with a spirit truly Roman. He had an unbounded ambition, and an immoderate love of pleasure: the one of which hurried him into faction and tumult; the other into all the extravagancies of expence and debauchery. When he was first introduced into the Forum, he was placed under the care of Cicero; who soon discerned his true character, and endeavoured to stem the torrent of his impetuous passions, by engaging him in the true interest of his country, and leading him into the regular road to glory. He was, when this letter was written, a *Quaestor* in Asia, to C. Clodius, and expected to

B 2

return

return soon to Rome. Cicero therefore, in this correspondence, agreeably to his former advice and instructions, prepares him for the part which he ought to act upon his arrival there. And under this influence, and as long as his private fortunes could support his unlimited prodigality, he acted the patriot with applause, and opposed the unlawful power of the Triumvirat. But at length, having squandered away his patrimony, and being reduced to the fatal necessity of parting with his pleasures, or parting with his honesty, he chose the latter, and sold himself, his own liberty, and the liberty of his country to Caesar. Virgil has been supposed to allude to him in the following lines,

Vendidit hic auro patriam, dominumque potentem

Imposuit : fixit leges pretio atque refixit. Æn. 6. 620.

See also V. Paternulus 2. 48. Cic. de clar. orat. 81. Life of Cic. vol. 1. 525. vol. 2. 138.

Ego te abfuisse tamdiu.] Curio had been most probably absent from Rome about two years; for C. Clodius, to whom he is supposed to have been *Quæstor*, obtained the government of Asia, after he had been *Praetor*, A. U. 698. Pig. Annal.

Sic ad nos conformatus revertare.] D^r Mead's MS reads *confirmatus*, which may be admitted; but *conformatus* is better, and the meaning is: *sic institutus, talibus moribus animique bonis instructus*. Thus Cicero frequently expresses himself, *pro Arch. Poet. 1. quod si haec vox hujus hortatu, praeceptisque conformata nonnullis*. Again *de fin. 4. 2. Philosophiam tres in partes diviserunt, — quarum cum una sit, qua mores conformari putantur*. These two words *confirmari* and *conformari* are frequently changed, the one for the other. See *De offic. 1. 1. c. 3. edit. Pearce*.

² *Nisi meis puer olim fidelissimis atque amantissimis consiliis paruissem.]* Curio had contracted a great familiarity with

with M. Antony ; who was not only a pimp to his pleasures, but a great encourager of his foolish extravagance and debauchery. This involved him in a great many difficulties, he contracted large debts, incurred the displeasure of his father, and almost irrecoverably ruined himself. But Cicero interposed at this critical juncture, and, as he tells us himself in his second Philippic, prevented the ruin of an illustrious and flourishing family. Phil. 2. 18.

³ *Ut aetas nostra jam ingravescens.*] Cicero was now in the fifty-fourth year of his age. For he was born A. U. 647. in the consulship of Q. Servilius Caepio, and C. Attilius Serranus.

EPIST. II.

¹ *GRAVI teste privatus sum.*] Manutius is of opinion, that this and the following letter ought to be joined together ; but he is contradicted by the authority of all the MSS. and by the subject of the letters themselves. For this appears plainly to be the first letter that Cicero had written to him, since the death of his father ; and it is not probable, that he would have been long without writing to him after such an important revolution in his family. But the other relates to some public shews, which Curio had ordered to be exhibited in honour of his father ; and which he could not have done, as he was in Asia, till some time after that event.

² *Clarissimo viro.*] C. Scribonius Curio was a man of good character in Rome, and of some reputation for eloquence. But Cicero tells us that he acquired the latter from the elegance and chastity of his diction, which he was thought to owe more to the conversation of his father's family, than to any application to the study of it : for he was ignorant of letters, and void of every other qualification of a good orator. His action was so ridicu-

ous, that it often exposed him to the raillery of his antagonist. C. Julius used frequently to laugh at the tottering motion of his body, and in the course of their pleading to ask him, *quis loqueretur e lintre?* And Sicinius, a Tribun of the people, jocularly told Cn. Octavius, Curio's colleague in the consulship, who happened to appear one day in the Forum covered with ointments, that *he would never be able to return the obligations he was under to his colleague; for he must have been devoured by the flies, if he had not tossed himself about in his usual manner:* Nunquam, Octavi, collegae gratiam referes, qui nisi se suo more jactavisset, hodie te istic muscae comedissent. Cic. de clar. orat. c. 60. Val. Max. lib. ix. c. i.

EPIST. III.

¹ *RUPAE studium non defuit.*] Curio had sent orders to Rupa to declare his intention of exhibiting some public entertainments upon account of the death of his father. Cicero, suspecting his *love of popularity* and *ambition* would carry him to too great expence and extravagance; and disapproving in general such sort of applications to the people, advises him to defer it till he came to Rome himself. His sentiments are delivered more ad large upon this subject in the 2d book of his offices. c. 16.

² *Munerum.*] Tertullian observes, in his treatise *de spectaculis*, c. 12. that *munus*, when it is applied to shews or public sports, signifies an act of duty to be performed in honor of the dead. The Romans began very early to exhibit such sort of entertainments to the people after the death of their relations, and upon that account, first of all, introduced gladiators upon the stage. Their extravagance upon these occasions became at last so exorbitant, that the products of the most distant parts of the world, procured at a prodigious expence, could scarce satisfy their
pride

pride and ambition. Curio, notwithstanding Cicero advised him to the contrary, endeavoured to exceed all that went before him ; and as he could not do it in magnificence, he was determined to do it in the novelty and ingeniousness of his contrivance : for, among other things he built two large theatres of wood, which moved upon hinges, and placed them in such a situation, that, being turned round, they formed one large amphitheatre. Pliny the elder, after giving an account of this stupendous fabric, makes a fine reflection upon the folly of the Roman people : *Super omnia erat populi furor, sedere ausi tam infida instabilique sede. En hic est ille terrarum victor et totius domitor orbis, qui gentes et regna diribet, jura externis mittit, deorum quaedam immortalium in genere humano portio, in machina pendens, ad periculum suum plaudens, &c.* 36. c. 24. Val. Max. 2. c. 4.

³ *Ne ad eam meditare.*] Gronovius reads, *ne ad ea meditare*. Dr. Mead's MSS. makes that alteration unnecessary, by reading the whole sentence in the following manner : *meam equidem sententiam aut scribam ad te postea pluribus, aut, ne ad eam meditare, imparatum te offendam, &c.*

EPIST. IV.

¹ *EPISTOLARUM genera multa esse.*] This letter was most probably written during the confusions in the state A. U. 700, when there were no consuls for near six months. And it is, I think, rightly placed after those which go before it ; because Cicero plainly alludes to his usual custom of exhorting Curio to the pursuit of true glory, and the good of the public : *Utar ea clausula, qua soleo, &c.*

Aut nostra aut ipsorum interesset.] The construction of this sentence is thus : *si quid esset, quod eos scire interesset, aut inter nostra negotia aut ipsorum negotia.* So again,

ep. 9. h. l. *quod ego et mea et reipublicae, et maxime tua interesse arbitror*; that is, *inter mea, et reipublicae, et tua negotia*. See Perizon. in Sanc. Miner. p. 418.

* *Neque ea, quae non sentio, velim scribere.*] That is, as it is paraphrased by Manutius, *nolo de republica scribere ea, quae non probo*. The MSS. all agree in the reading, which I have received into the text: and as the sense is good, there is no occasion to make the alteration, which hath been made by some, who read: *quae nunc sentio*, instead of *quae non sentio*.

EPIST. V.

* *HÆC negotia.*] See Dio l. 40. Plut. in vit. Pomp. Life of Cic. v. i. 521.

* *Nec vario sermone.*] The Italian MS reads: *nec vano sermone*.

EPIST. VI.

* *NONDUM erat auditum.*] Curio was expected to return to Rome, and Cicero knowing what weight he would give to that party, to which he should join himself, endeavoured strongly to engage him to the interests of Milo, who was a candidate for the consulship with Q. Metellus Scipio, and Plautius Hypseus. He presses it home upon him in this letter, by all the motives of friendship and gratitude, which he could invent; and makes use of all the various arts and methods of address, which his superior knowledge of mankind and the peculiar circumstances, in which he stood both with regard to *Milo* and *Curio*, enabled him to apply with success.

Dr. Mead's MS. as well as most of those seen by Grævius, reads *Servilium* instead of *Sextum Villium*. But it is of no importance to know, which is the true reading.

* *Vel ipsa novitate meorum temporum.*] Cicero must necessarily be supposed to allude in this place to his own banishment.

nishment. For Curio distinguished himself in his favour amongst the young nobility, who, to the number of twenty thousand, changed their habits and constantly attended him about the city, to secure him from the insults of Clodius's Mob, and to implore the protection of the people. Plut. in Vit. Cic. Orat. post red. ad Quir.

³ *Cumulare atque illustrare posset.*] Dr. Mead's MS. reads *vel in remunerando cumulandoque illustrari posset*, and this reading is supported by most of the other MSS; but I cannot help preferring that, which I have received into the text, though it is only recommended by one of the MSS of Graevius; for *cumulare* signifies *cumulate referre*, and the sense of the place is this: *confido nullam esse gratiam tantam, quam in remunerando cumulate referre et omnibus notam facere non possim.*

⁴ *Ex tribunatu, propter nostram — causam.*] Milo was tribun of the people A. U. 696, and one of the most active in procuring the recall of Cicero from banishment; Cicero therefore attributes to this the regard and concern, which the senate and the better sort generally shewed for Milo's interest.

⁵ *Propter magnificentiam munerum.*] Milo was extravagant beyond all bounds in the shews, which he exhibited to the people; he had already wasted three estates, yet was preparing at this time some other public entertainments at the expence of 250000 *l.* Cicero expresses a great deal of concern for this in a letter to Quintus, and Pliny reckons the vastness of his debts *inter humani animi prodigia.* l. 36. 15. ad Q. Frat. 3. 9. Life of Cic. v. 1. 530.

EPIST. VII.

'*SERA gratulatio reprehendi non solet.*] There is an interval of about two years between the writing of this and the foregoing letter. Cicero was now at his go-

vernment in Cilicia, and congratulates Curio upon his election to the tribunat; but excuses himself for not paying his compliments sooner upon that occasion. For Curio had been chosen tribun some time in the summer of the year U.C. 702: but this letter was not written till after he had entered upon his office, which was not till the 10th of December. There is a passage in the letter, which determines the date of it to the latter end of that month: *scribam ad te plura alias: paucis enim diebus eram missurus domesticos tabellarios: ut, quoniam sane feliciter, et ex mea sententia remp. gessimus, meis literis totius aestatis res gestas ad senatum perscriberem.* In this passage he evidently alludes to his success at mount *Amanus*, and the taking of *Pindenissum*; but he had not reduced that place till the 17th of December: therefore this letter could not have been written before that time. And it appears from a letter to Atticus, 5. 20. dated about the 26th of December, that he was then preparing to send his public letters to the senate: which are the same, that he mentions his intentions of sending, in this letter to Curio. It is therefore highly probable, that he wrote the abovementioned letter to Atticus at the same time, that the letter under our consideration was written to Curio: or at least, that this was not written later than the other; for these public letters were sent in the beginning of January.

Ne te auferant aliorum consilia.] Graevius hath taken notice, that *auferre* signifies the same as *corrumpere*, *deducere*; and hath supported his explication by an authority, from Ovid:

Auferimur cultu; gemmis auroque teguntur

Omnia. Pars minima est ipsa puella sui.

Rem. Am. 343.

But it undoubtedly signifies in no other sense the same as *corrumpere*, than because it is an elliptical expression, and hath the same signification as *abstrahere*; *rebus consiliis*

lis or *recta sententia* being necessary to compleat the sentence. Thus: *ne te a rectis consiliis auferant aliorum consilia*. *Abstrahere a rebus gerendis, a disciplina, ab exercitatione et consuetudine* are frequent in Cicero's writings; and I think *auferre* hath a meaning equivalent to *abstrahere* in the following passages. 13 *ad Attic.* ep. 13. *commotus tuis literis, quod ad me de Varrone scripseras, totam Academiam ab hominibus nobilissimis abstuli*. Or. post. red. in senat. c. 7. pro domo. c. 9.

² *Judicio enim tuo.*] Coelius gives an account of it in a letter to Cicero, epist. 5. l. 8. *Illud te non arbitror miratum, Servium designatum tribunum plebis condemnatum, cujus locum C. Curio petiit. Sane quam incutit multis, qui eum facilitatemque ejus non norunt, magnum metum*.

³ *De sacerdotio tuo quantam curam adhibuerim.*] Curio was a candidate for the priesthood in the room of his father, and was chosen in his place. Dio. 40. *Sacerdotium* signifies in general any kind of office, that belonged to the performance of the rites and ceremonies of religion; but we know, that Curio was chosen into the college of the Pontifices. For Cicero ranks his father amongst the members of that society. *De Harusp. respons.* c. 6.

EPIST. VIII.

¹ *LITERAS a te mihi.*] It is unusual amongst the Romans for the same persons to bear the name of two different families, unless in the case of adoption; and then the adopted person added his own name to the three names of the person by whom he was adopted, only changing the termination: as *C. Octavius*, after he had been adopted by Julius Caesar, was called *Caius Julius Caesar Octavianus*. We ought not therefore to read in this place *Caninio Sallustio*, because Caninius and Sallustius are names

names of two different families ; but either *Caninio Sallustiano*, or, what I think most probable, *Cneio Sallustio*, For I observe that one of this name enjoyed a great intimacy with Atticus and Cicero, is frequently mentioned in the letters of the latter, and was appointed Quæstor to Bibulus in Syria. A. U. 702. Cicero wrote this letter to him in the latter end of July in the following year, some few days before his departure from Cilicia ; for he left his province upon the third of the Kalends of August, but was not set out from thence at the time, when he wrote this letter to Sallustius. 1. Attic. 11. 6. ep. 3. 1. Divin. 28. Pigh. Annal. A. 702.

Stator tuus.] The governors of provinces and their quæstors had some domestic attendants, which were called *Statores* : they were generally employed in carrying their messages and letters to distant places, and probably had their name from their being always in readiness, and *standing*, as it were upon the watch, to receive the commands of their masters. We have an instance of this in the guards, which stood round the general's tent, in the times of the Cæsars ; for, they were called *Statores* upon that account. The name is often seen in ancient inscriptions, thus : L. MARIO. VERO. STATORI. PR. that is : *Statori Praetorii*. And again : HERCVLANVS. MIL. N. STAT. PR. that is : *miles numeri Statorum Praetorii*. But Cicero frequently mentions the *statores* or *messengers* in his letters, and gives me no room to doubt, but that the account, which I have given of them, is the true one. See ep. 9. of this book. x. 21. Bergierius de pub. et mil. imp. Roma. viis. lib. 4. 4.

Rhodum, Ciceronum causa puerorum.] The island of Rhodes is situated in the Mediterranean, not far distant from the coast of Lycia and Caria. It had a city of the same name with itself, which was at this time much celebrated

lebrated and resorted to upon account of its schools of eloquence and philosophy. Cicero himself in the course of his travels resided some time here, and applied himself to the study of Oratory, under the directions of Molo, who was both an experienced pleader and a fine writer : and probably his design of stopping here now was to give his nephew and son a view of this flourishing isle, and to exercise them perhaps in the same school, where he himself had studied with so much success. 6. ad Attic. 7. Strabo, l. 14. Cic. de orat. 2. 1. de clar. orat. 1, 41.

² *De rationibus referendis.*] A. U. 694. Julius Caesar was consul with M. Bibulus, and amongst the many laws which he procured, without the concurrence of his colleague, there was one, wherein it was ordered, that the governors of the provinces, and their inferior officers, should leave an exact account of their expences in some capital city of the province to which they belonged ; and likewise transcribe a fair copy, to be deposited, at their return home, in the treasury at Rome. But Bibulus did not acknowledge the validity of this law, and determined neither to observe it himself, nor to require his Quæstor to do it. But Cicero advises Sallustius, in this place, to conform to the law ; for though it might probably be convenient for him not to deliver in his accounts, yet he ought to do it, because the law required it, and he had not the same reason and pretence for violating it, as Bibulus had. See 5. ep. 18. 5. ad Attic. 16. 6. ep. 7.

³ *Ut præda a præfæctis.*] The booty taken in war was looked upon as the property of the whole Roman people, and, according to the ancient constitution and laws of Rome, was to be sold by the Quæstors, and the money which arose from it to be payed into the public treasury. Dionys. lib. 7. 467. Cicero therefore tells Sallustius, that it is not in his power to furnish him with the money which he wants ; because that which belonged to the public

public was under the same management and regulation as the booty which he had taken in the war; and of that he had told him above, *praeter quaestores urbanos, id est, populum Romanum, teruncium nec attigit, nec tacturus est quisquam*. And the other part, which belonged to himself, was in the hands of his own treasurer. Vide Schellii not. in Polybium, c. 9.

* *Tantum de auguratu filii sui scripsit de me.*] There were great jealousies between Cicero and Bibulus, the two governors of the neighbouring provinces; and though the latter was in great danger, and wanted the assistance of the former, yet, whenever he wrote to him, he wrote upon any other subject rather than that. A great calamity befell his family at this time, which moved the compassion of Cicero: two of his sons, who were at Alexandria, were murdered by some of the Roman soldiers, which Gabinius had left there, after he had replaced king Ptolemy upon the throne. And Bibulus behaved with great moderation: for Cleopatra having seized upon the assassins, and sent them to him, he sent them back again, replying, that it did not belong to himself, but the Roman senate, to revenge the crime. It is probable that he applied to Cicero, to use his interest in favour of another son, to succeed one of the deceased in the college of Augurs. Val. Max. l. 4. c. 1. 6. ad Attic. ep. 5.

† *Ut alariis Transpadanis uti negarem.*] There were two sorts of cavalry in the Roman army: the one were called *legionarii*, the other *auxiliares*. The latter were also called *alarii*, because they covered the foot, like wings. *Alae dictae exercitus, equitum ordines; quod circum legiones dextra sinistraque, tanquam alae in avium corporibus, locabantur*. A. Gell. l. 16. 4. Salmasius de mil. Rom. p. 1424. apud Graevii Rom. Antiq.

EPIST. IX.

CU M optatissimum nuntium.] Cicero, at the time of writing this letter, had nothing else in view but his return to Rome; neither the reputation of integrity, which he acquired from his equitable administration, nor the flattering expectations of a triumph, for which he had some reason to hope; nor, in short, the quarrels between Pompey and Caesar, which he foresaw would soon break out and involve all Italy in blood and confusion, could influence him to continue in his province any longer. The only difficulty, under which he laboured, was about the person into whose hands he should deliver up his government, till a successor should be appointed by the senate. He was unwilling to leave his brother in that authority, lest it might give a handle to suspect him of some interest or partiality in the choice. His lieutenant Pontinius, who was the fittest person, had already set out for Rome; and he thought his quaestor L. Mescinius Rufus entirely unfit for such a commission, upon account of the inconstancy of his temper, his avarice, and his debauchery. Whilst he deliberated upon this point, he had the news of a new quaestor being appointed for the province of Cilicia, C. Caelius Calvus, *a young man of noble birth.* In this letter, which was most probably sent about the latter end of June, or the beginning of July, he congratulates him in an obliging manner upon this promotion, declares his entire satisfaction with it, and begs him to make all the haste, he can, to be with him before his departure from the province. He does not mention his design of resigning the government into his hands, yet I do not doubt but he had it in view, and desired him to hasten his coming upon that account. Caelius arrived before the end of July; and Cicero informs Atticus, that he had left him the command of the province, tho' in that letter he discovers
some

some distrust of him : *nos provinciae praefecimus Caelium : puerum, inquires, et fortasse fatuum, et non gravem, et non continentem. Assentior : fieri non potuit aliter.* ad Attic. 6. 6.

² *Quaestorem obtigisse.*] Manutius is mistaken in supposing Cn. Volusius to have been one of Cicero's quaestors ; for the passage in the letter to Atticus, to which he refers, if rightly pointed, says no such thing : *cum ibi decem ipsos fuisset dies ; venerat Pontinius, una Cn. Volusius : aderat quaestor.* And in confirmation of this reading it may be observed, that generally there was only one quaestor appointed for each province, and that Cicero's quaestor was undoubtedly L. Mescinius Rufus, in whose room C. Caelius Caldus was most probably chosen.

³ *Ad me Curius.*] See letters to Curius. b. 13.

⁴ *C. Virgilius.*] See ep. ad Q. F. 1. 2. ad Attic. 12. 51. et 13, 26.

⁵ *Quaecunque a me ornamenta.*] That is, *omnia a me ornamenta.* Cicero very frequently uses *quaecunque* in the same sense. An ignorance of this hath been the occasion of an unnecessary word being introduced into the text of several of the common editions, which read, contrary to the authority of the best MSS. *quamobrem, quaecunque a me ornamenta a te profiscerentur, elaborabo, ut omnes intelligant, &c.*

THE
REMARKS
UPON THE
THIRD BOOK.

EPIST. I.

'*Si ipsa respublica*] It may perhaps surprize the reader to be informed, that the person, to whom the thirteen following letters are written, was brother to P. Clodius, the well known and irreconcilable enemy of Cicero. The family, to which he belonged, was one of the noblest in all Rome, and eminently distinguished by its pride and insolent contempt of the commonalty. Appius inherited a large share of this arrogance, but few of the virtues of his ancestors: he was proud, haughty, insolent, of weak abilities, great inconstancy of temper, and little courage. He spent his youth in wantonness and pleasure, and conformed with little difficulty to the growing extravagance and corruption of the times, in which he lived. This exposed him afterwards to much ridicule and banter; for being chosen censor he assumed an air of gravity and importance, affected to be an observer of discipline, and rigorously put the laws in execution in support of it. Coelius makes himself very merry with him upon this account, in a letter to Cicero. *Scis Appium censorem hic ostenta facere? de signis et tabulis, de agri modo, de aere alieno acerime agere? persuasum est ei, censuram, lomentum aut nitrum esse. Errare mihi videtur. Nam sordes eluere vult, venas sibi omnes et viscera aperit. Curre per deos atque homines*

nes et quamprimum hoc risum veni : Appium de tabulis et signis agere. He was admitted very young into the college of Augurs, and weak enough to believe that there was a real art and power of divining subsisting in the augural discipline, and taught by the augural books : but he was the only one at that time, who maintained it, and laughed at for his pains. It however occasioned a smart controversy between him and his colleague Marcellus, and he dedicated his treatise to Cicero ; who judged favorably of him, and thought him a man of some learning, a tolerable pleader, and well skilled in the laws and antiquities of his country. He obtained the consulship A.U. 699. and was appointed to succeed Lentulus in the government of Cilicia in the following year, where he was, when this letter was written to him ; which I suppose to have been about the latter end of that year : the whole correspondence, that is now extant between Cicero and him, being confined within the compass of two years, or thereabouts. Cic. de div. 1. 58. 2. 35. Tusc. 1. 6. Attic. 8. 1. Ep. fam. 8. 21. Life of Cic. v. 2. 554.

Sic est, tibi persuade] The reading of Dr. Mead's MS. is much better : *sic enim tibi persuade.*

Intermissa nostra consuetudine] Appius engaged a long time in the quarrels of his brother P. Clodius, and consequently all friendship with Cicero must have been interrupted during that period. But P. Clodius being killed by Milo sometime before the writing of this letter, there was no reason, why they should not be reconciled to each other, that occasion of their difference being removed. And in this sense we must understand what follows a little after : *idque me puto non invita Minerva esse facturum.* that is, *I think this renewal of our friendship, which I am about to engage in, will not now be against the voice and interest of my country.* For Gronovius rightly observes, that Cicero under the name of Minerva and the cover of an old

old proverb means the Roman state: which would not now be displeased with him for his friendship with Appius, since his brother, the old enemy of the peace and happiness of his country, was removed out of the way. What confirms this interpretation very much, is that Cicero had a little statue of Minerva, which was esteemed not only to be the patron of his own family, but the tutelar deity and patron of the city of Rome. When he went into banishment, he carried it to the capitol and placed it in the temple of Jupiter with the following inscription, 'ΑΘΗΝΑΨ ΡΩΜΗΣ ΦΥΛΑΚΙ. Plut. in vit. Cic.

² *Quam quidem, ego si forte de tuis sumsero.*] Gronovius is the only commentator, that has attempted to explain these words, but I think not with his usual success. He says *tuis* may be referred either to *monumentis* or *literis*: but to which ever you refer it, it is very difficult to discover any tolerable sense or meaning. I cannot therefore help thinking, but that there is an error in the reading of these words, *de tuis sumsero*, and that we ought to read *tuorum summus ero*: for I doubt not, but *sumsero* arose from the usual abbreviation in the MS. of *summus ero*: which being once placed in the text, it was natural for the scribes to correct a little false latin and change *tuorum* into *de tuis*. If this reading be admitted, the meaning of the whole passage will be this: *I doubt not but this renewal of our friendship will be made with the approbation of Minerva the patroness and tutelar deity of my family; whom, if I shall be ranked amongst your intimate friends, si tuorum, (scil. amicorum) summus ero, I will no longer call her Pallas, but Appias; as if our two families had but one common and united interest, and she was the protectress of it.* The expression is similar to this in Terence: *plurima salute Parmenomen, summum suum, impertit Gnatho.* Eun. 2. 2. Or as it is expressed more fully in another place: *Amicus summus meus et popularis Geta.* Phorm. 1. 35.

¹ *Melius enim ei cavere volo, quam ipse aliis solet.*] *Cavere* is a term of law, and the Lawyers are said, *cavere alicui*, when they do every thing for the advantage of their clients; and take care, that they do not either lose their cause or the benefit of a contract for want of some necessary form. Cicero explains it himself in his Offices: *in jure cavere, consilio juvare, atque hoc scientiae genere prodesse quam plurimis, vehementer et ad opes augendas pertinet, et ad gratiam.* 2. 19. and alludes to it several times in his letters to Trebatius. 7. Thus also Ovid. de Art. Aman. 1. 84.

*Illo saepe loco capitur consultus amore,
Quique aliis cavit, non cavet ipse sibi.*

But they are not only said, *cavere alicui*, in the foregoing sense but also, *cavere ab aliquo* in a sense, which is unusual and deserves to be explained; that is, *when they compel a person to give a security for himself.* I think it is used in this sense in the two following passages in Cicero: *At vero inquam tibi ego, Brute, non solvam, nisi prius a te cavero, amplius eo nomine neminem, cujus petitio sit, petiturum.* Brut. 5. Again, *Rogant eum, ut sibi id, quod ab ipsis abisset pecuniae, curet: ab sese caveat, quemadmodum velit, de illa haereditati cum epicrate neminem esse asturum.* 2. in Ver. 23.

EPIST. II.

¹ *CUM et contra voluntatem.*] Pompey A.U. 701. in his third consulship procured a law, by which all future consuls and pretors were disqualified from holding any province, till five years after the expiration of their magistracies: and in order to supply a sufficient number of governors for that time, it was provided, that all the senators of consular and pretorian rank, who had never obtained any foreign command, should divide the provinces amongst them by lot. In consequence of which, Cicero, who undoubtedly

was

was not included within the meaning of the law, was obliged to take his chance with the rest, and obtained the government of Cilicia : in this letter he acquaints Appius, in whose hands the government at present was, of the unexpected employment, which had fallen to his share, and declares his esteem and friendship for him in an affectionate and polite manner : the letter was written in the beginning of the year U. C. 702. and I think not long before he set out from Rome.

* *Vides ex senatus consulto.*] The senate always claimed the prerogative of disposing of the provinces. See rem. 1. c. 7. b. 1. Middle. on Rom. senate. p. 126.

Si eam, quoad ejus facere potueris.] This expression is elegantly elliptical and frequently made use of by Cicero. It ought not therefore to have been corrected by Gebhardus, as if it had been faulty. *Aliquid* or some such word as that, is wanting ; for the construction may be completed in this manner : *quoad aliquid ejus facere potueris.* Thus in a letter to Atticus ep. 12. 2. *velim, ne intermittas, quoad ejus facere potueris, scribere ad me.* Again : de invent. 2. 6. *et id augebit quam maxime poterit, ut, quoad ejus fieri possit, idonea quam maxime causa ad peccandum hortata videatur.* If I am not mistaken, there is an error in this last quotation. For *quam maxime poterit* appears to me to be an interpolation, and nothing else but a marginal explication of *quoad ejus facere possit.* Concerning this expression see Sanctii Miner. c. 6. l. 3.

EPIST. III.

' *A. D. XI. Kal. Junias.*] This letter was written between the twenty second of May and the first of June, for it could not have been written sooner, since he mentions his arrival at *Brundisium* upon the twenty second of May : nor later ; because he concludes his letter by telling

Appius, that he was detained by his lieutenant Pontinius, whom he expected to see about the first of June.

² *Praesidio firmiori opus esse ad eam provinciam.*] The province of Cilicia, and that of Syria, which was now allotted to Bibulus, required each of them an extraordinary army to secure them from the invasion of their neighbours; for they were situated near the Parthians, a people, after the defeat of Crassus, terrible to the Roman name and bold enough to engage in any enterprize. Cicero upon this account petitioned the senate to permit him to raise recruits in Italy. But the consul Servius Sulpicius opposed it with great earnestness, foreseeing the approaching quarrels between Caesar and Pompey, and being unwilling to drain Italy of so much strength at a time, when it would stand in the greatest need of it.

³ *Quarum ad me exemplum*] *Exemplum* is generally understood to signify a copy: but it may with good reason be doubted, whether it is ever used in that sense. The classical word for a copy, a transcript, or, what the Greeks call ἀπόγραφοι, is *exemplar*, but *exemplum* signifies the formula, form or words, in which a letter, a decree, a last will and testament etc. is conceived, which always is invariable, though there are a thousand transcripts or copies. No one can doubt, but that *exemplum* will admit of this interpretation in the present place, and if I am not mistaken, it will admit of the same, in all other places in these letters. But I am sure in the following it will admit of no other. Ep. 4. lib. 4. *Accipio excusationem tuam, qua usus es, cur saepius ad me literas uno exemplo dedisses*, that is, *I admit of your excuse for sending me so many letters in one form, uno exemplo, or, so many copies of the same letter.* Again, Ep. 17. lib. 7. *sed ut ad epistolas tuas rededam, caetera belle: illud miror: quis solet eodem exemplo plures dare, qui sua manu scribit.* Ep. 16. lib. 9. *de quo et*

tu mihi antea scripseras, bis quidem eodem exemplo, facile ut intelligerem, te esse commotum. ep. 8. lib. 5. *litteras ad senatum de rebus nostris gestis, quo exemplo miseram, infra tibi perscripsi.* If *exemplum* signifies in this latter place a copy; Vatinius must be understood to tell Cicero, that he had sent the same copy of his letters to him, which he had sent to the senate, and not as he really means a copy of the same letters. It is unnecessary to multiply any more instances, because they will frequently occur to the reader's own observation, nor should I have mentioned these, if Graevius and all the other commentators had not agreed in explaining the word to signify, *copiā*, ἀπόγραφοι. But it is clear from this one place, that *exemplar* may classically be used in this sense. ep. 33. lib. 10. *deinde ex litteris, quas Panfæ misi, cognosces omnia, nam tibi earum exemplar misi.* vid. Salmas. miscell. defens. pro cl. Salma. c. 6. p. 223. Menkenii observat. ling. latin.

* *Ego C. Pontinium*] C. Pontinius was praetor the same year, that Cicero was consul, and afterwards had the government of Cisalpine Gaul. He fought with success against the *Allobroges*, and after four years application and many intrigues he procured a triumph upon that account. Dio. 37. Epit. Liv. 103. iv ad Attic. ep. 16. Orat. in Catalin. 3. 2.

EPIST. IV.

* *PRIDIE nonas Junias.*] Cicero was still at Brundisium, when he wrote this letter: for he did not depart from thence, till the fifteenth of June. v. ad Attic. 8. 9.

² *Maximeque illo libro augurali.*] See an account of this work in the first remark upon the first letter of this book, and the places referred to there.

³ *Summa necessitudinis officia constabunt.*] We ought to read with the learned Graevius *summae necessitudinis*;

for, as he observes, *summa necessitudo* is as proper as *summus amicus*, *summa amicitia*, *summa conjunctio* : all which are very frequent in Cicero and other good writers. The word *constabunt* is used in this place in a mercantile sense, for *rationes* are said *constare*, when there is an equal balance in trade between debtor and creditor : and *officia*, when the good offices are mutual and equal on both sides. Tacitus uses it very elegantly in this sense. Annal. i. 6. *Monuit Liviam, — ne Tiberius vim principatus resolveret, cuncta ad senatum vocando : eam conditionem esse imperandi, ut non aliter ratio constet, quam si una reddatur.* See Lipsius upon the passage, to which I have referred ; the same expression is again used in the following letter.

EPIST. VI.

TRALLES *veni a. d. vi.*] In this letter Cicero mentions his arrival at Tralles upon the 27th day of July, and his intention of being at Laodicea upon the first of August. But in a letter to Atticus 15. 5. we find that he arrived there upon the 31st of July. *Laodiceam veni pridie kal. Sext. ex hoc die clavum anni movebis.* Therefore this must have been written between the 27th and 31st of the same month. He thanks Appius for endeavouring to deliver the province to him in the best manner he could ; and acquaints him with his desire of meeting him before his departure from thence, and how much it concerned their common interest.

Quo quidem hominem neminem] This is the reading of Dr. Mead's MS. as well as of most of the others ; and is supported by the practice of the best writers. Thus Cic. ep. 7. l. 5. *ea se republica carere, in qua neminem prudentem hominem res ulla deleat.* But we must allow, that in this and other uses of the word, they have not attended to its formation and original meaning. For *nemo* is compounded

pounded of *nemo homo* ; consequently when it is joined to *homo* or any other substantive it is an impropriety, which cannot otherwise be justified than by custom ;

Quem penes arbitrium et jus, et norma loquendi.

Livy hath *nemo miles* ; Cicero, *nemo homo, nec deus*, and Virgil, *quod optanti Divum promittere nemo auderet*. See Sancti. Miner. 4. 4. Voss. de anal. 1. 15.

* *Animadverti enim*] Graevius hath taken notice of another reading of this place: *animadverti enim et didici ex tuis literis et per alios, te omnibus in rebus habuisse rationem.*

Tunc mihi ille dixit, quod classe.] This is the genuine reading of the MSS. *quod* is used in this place for *Quia*: *tunc mihi ille dixit, quia classe discederes velles per fore accommodatum* &c. It is not therefore a solecism, as Gronovius hath affirmed it to be, but agreeable to the purest latinity. See Perizonius upon Sanctii Minerv. 3. 14.

Prope kal. Sextiles puto me Laodiceae fore] In one of the MSS. belonging to Graevius, after *fore* follows *tibi per paucos dies* ; in Dr. Mead's *tibi* is omitted, but *et ibi* is an interlineary addition in a different hand and ink from that, in which the MS. is written, and I doubt not but the true reading is either *et ibi*: or *ibi per paucos dies commorabor.*

EPIST. VI.

CUM meum factum.] In this letter Cicero expostulates with Appius upon account of his late behaviour in appointing so many places for their meeting and disappointing him so often. This is a frequent subject of complaint in his letters to Atticus. 5. 16. *Appius ut audivit nos venire, in ultimam provinciam se coniecit Tarsum usque.* Again, ep. 17. *Appius noster, cum me adventare videret, profectus est Tarsum usque Laedicea ibi forum agit cum ego sim in provincia ; quam ejus injuriam non insector ; satis enim habeo*

negotii in sanandis vulneribus, quae sunt imposita provincias. It was written in the beginning of September; for after having given an account of the several stages, which he had taken, he concludes with his departure from Iconium upon the last day of August.

² *In prima provincia.]* that is, *in prima regione provinciae.* So in the above quoted passage from the letter to Atticus, *in ultimam provinciam se coniecit.*

³ *Quo ego ne te persequi possem triginta diebus.]* The Cornelian law required that a governor of a province should continue in the province no longer than thirty days after the arrival of his successor. That time was expired, when Cicero wrote this letter. Therefore, when in the conclusion of the letter he desires him to think of some place, where they may meet *salva lege Cornelia*, he must mean some place without the limits of that province; or else I know not how to reconcile the request with the terms of the law; for it is not likely, that there is any mistake in his journal, since it exactly agrees with the accounts, which were sent at the same time to Atticus. See l. 5. c. 16. &c.

⁴ *Praefectum evocatorum.]* The *Evocati* were a choice body of veteran soldiers, who after their dismissal from service, being yet vigorous and fit for war, were invited to it again, as a sort of volunteers, and distinguished from the rest by peculiar privileges. Life of Cic. 418. note[x]. Dio. lib. 45. Lipsius de milit. Rom. l. 8.

EPIST. VII.

¹ *ET SI quantum ex tuis literis.]* Cicero in this letter justifies his behavior in some points, which had been objected to him by Appius, with a courage and confidence, that could only result from a consciousness of his own innocence and integrity. It was undoubtedly written before that,
which

which follows it, though it hath always been preceded by it in the editions of Cicero's works. He wrote it, as he tells us in the latter part of it, upon the ninth of October whilst he was upon his march to mount *Amanus*, a place remarkable in the life of Cicero, for giving him the first opportunity of displaying the talents of a general; and of being saluted *Emperor* by his own soldiers, upon account of his success against the barbarons inhabitants. It is a part of mount *Taurus*, which is a constant ridge of hills, that take their beginning in the province of *Lycia* near the *Mediterranean*; and extend themselves eastward to a prodigious distance. They divide *Asia major* into two parts; and separate *Cilicia* from the other parts of *Asia minor*; where they separate it from *Asia minor*, they are properly called *Taurus*; but where they separate it from *Comagene*, they change their name to *Amanus*.

² *Ad urbem effes.*] Appius departed from *Cilicia* with an intention of demanding a triumph for his success in the war there. But it was unlawful for a general, who expected that honour, to enter the walls of the city, till he had either procured the decree of the senate in his favour, or given up his pretensions to it. His residence in the suburbs during that time is generally expressed by the phrase *ad urbem esse*: and his arrival there by *ad urbem accedere*. See epist. xi. h. l. ep. i. l. 4.

Et cum magna significatione.] Appius had complained to Cicero of his shewing some marks of disregard for him both in the courts of judicature and in private conversation: *et pro tribunali et nonnullis in conviviis*. Cicero denies it and appeals to several illustrious testimonies, which he had given of his esteem for him in both those places: *multos et illustres et ex superiore et ex aequo loco sermones habitos cum magna significatione nostrae familiaritatis*: Dr. Mead's MS. reads in this place, *cum magna sollicitudine et*
fi

significatione nostrae familiaritatis : and several others retain *solicitudine* without the copulation *et*. I think therefore, that we ought not to reject *solicitudine* with Graevius, but rather make this easy alteration, and read : *cum magna sollicitaque significatione nostrae familiaritatis*. I find that Gronovius recommends this emendation.

4. *Nam, quod ad Legatos attinet.*] It was a custom for the governors of provinces upon their retirement from their government, to procure ambassadors to be sent to Rome from the several cities under their jurisdiction, to praise the integrity and equity of their administration. The origin of this custom was undoubtedly good, and in some few instances we find, that it was undertaken voluntarily : but it was generally extorted by force, and a great burden to the miserable inhabitants, who perhaps had been already fleeced by the rapine and plunder of that very person, whose lenity and moderation they were compelled to extoll. Appius had taken care, before he left Cilicia, to secure this compliment to be paid to himself, though as undeserving of it, as any of his predecessors. But Cicero, who set out upon a more frugal plan, than other governors, prevented it, out of compassion to the poverty and indigence of the province, and in this part of the letter gives his reasons for it, and answers the complaints, which had been made to him by Appius, upon this occasion.

5. *Verum etiam, ut nunc loquimur, urbanum*] Cicero does not mean, that the word *urbanus* is a word newly invented ; but, that the sense, in which he uses it, is recent and modern. For we meet with it in Plautus and Terence ; and in the literal signification opposed to *rusticus*. Thus in the latter of those two writers, *Adolph.* 1. 42.

Jam

Jam inde ab adolescentia

Ego hanc clementem vitam urbanam atque otium

Secutus sum : — Ille contra, hæc omnia

Ruri agere vitam :

And Cicero himself uses *urbanitas* in the same sense ; that is, to signify either *vitam urbanam* as opposed to *rusticam* ; or those things, *quæ ad urbem pertinent*. I shall content myself with quoting one passage out of a letter to Trebatius ; and take the liberty of referring my reader, if he wants any farther satisfaction, to a few more. Ep. 6. 7 : *tu modo ineptias istas, et desideria urbis et urbanitatis deponere*. Ep. ix. ejus. l. xvi. ad Attic. Ep. 21. This was the original use of the word. But in the days of Cicero, or not long before, it began to be applied to *politeness*, good breeding, elegance and delicacy of behaviour. And agreeably to this latter use of it *urbanitas* is defined by Quintilian to be that, *in qua nihil absconum, nihil agreste, nihil inconditum, nihil peregrinum, neque sensu, neque ore gestuque possit deprehendi*. Domitius Marsus, who wrote a Treatise de *Urbanitate*, though he differs a little in his definition of it, yet confirms the late application of the word to this meaning : *sæpe sic intelligi coeptum, postquam urbis appellationem, etiamsi nomen proprium non adjiiceretur, Romam tamen accipi sit receptum*. See him quoted by Quintilian. 6. c. 3. Cicero hath determined this to be the meaning, in which he uses it, in the beginning of the 9th letter of this book : *vix tandem legi literas dignas Appio Clodio plenas humanitatis, officii, diligentiae, adspæctus videlicet urbis tibi tuam præstinam urbanitatem reddidit*. For he comprehends under that word, *humanitas, officium, diligentia*. Quint. 1. 6. c. 3. Concerning Domitius Marsus, see Broukhuf. ad Tibull. lib. iv. Carin. 15.

[Non Myndensium testimonio.] Here is undoubtedly an error in the text ; for the Myndensians or inhabitants of Myndus could have nothing to do either with Appius or Cicero.

Cicero : the town of *Myndus* being situated in *Caria*, at a great distance from *Cilicia*, and out of the jurisdiction of the governor of that province. *Manutius* was not aware of this, though he conjectured that we ought to read *Synnadensium* instead of *Myndensium*. But Dr. Mead's MS. points out the true reading : *non Midesium testimonio* : which evidently ought to be *non Midaeensium testimonio* : for *Midaeum* or *Μιδάειον* was a town situated in the neighbourhood of *Synnada*, and included within the division of the province, which went under that name. Thus Pliny, 5. 29. *Alter conventus a Synnada accepit nomen : conveniunt Lycaones, Appiani, Cercopeni, Dorilaei, Midaei, Julenses*. The inhabitants were called either *Midaei* or *Midaeenses*, *Μιδάει* or *Μιδάει*. See Cellarii Geogr. Antiq. l. 3. c. 4.

⁶ *Facere hi, qui haec disputant, quam si.*] One old book reads *quam is cujus aures* ; which probably is the true reading.

⁷ *Translatitium est.*] *Translatitia veteres dixerunt non nova, nec nuper inventa, sed aliunde translata*. Afcon. in Verr. 2. 44. This was the original meaning of the word, but it is frequently used in the same sense as *vulgaris* thus in Suetonius. *Postero die raptim inter maximos imbres translatitio extulit funere*. Ner. c. 33. and Cicero uses it in the same signification in this place. For he tells Appian, that he ought not to conclude, that he had any particular view to him in drawing up his decree, since even that part of it, which was most open to suspicion, was *translatitium*, either borrowed from the decrees of his predecessors, or drawn up in the common form.

⁸ *Negligens esse.*] Graevius hath taken notice in this place of the unusual signification of *negligens* ; for it signifies the same as *prodigus*. It is used in the same sense by Suetonius, and opposed to *parcus*. Galb. 14. *modo acerbior parciusque, modo remissior ac negligentior, quam conveniret principi*

principi electo. Cicero and Plautus use *diligens* in a meaning equivalent to *frugi*. Cic. iv. in Verr. *Diodorus homo frugi ac diligens, qui sua servare vellet.* Plaut. *Amphit.*

3. 3.

Recte loquere, et proinde ut diligentem decet uxorem.

De tua prolixa beneficaque natura.] In this place *prolixus* hath the same signification as *liberalis, beneficus, &c.* and is frequently used by Cicero and other writers in this sense, thus Ep. 5. l. 7. *neque mehercule minus ei prolixè de tua voluntate promisi, quem eram solitus de me polliceri.* Thus also Terence *Heauton.* 1081.

Accipit homo nemo melius prorsum, neque prolixius.

⁹ *De sententia bima decedat.*] Hortensius had an inclination to prolong Cicero's commission to govern the province of Cilicia, for the second year.

E P I S T. VIII.

¹ *PLURIBUS verbis.*] This letter was written in the beginning of the year U. C. 703. for Cicero wrote it at Laodicea. But he did not arrive there till the eleventh of February. He informs Atticus of this in a letter, which he wrote upon the thirteenth of the same month. 5. 21. *litteras Laodiceae denique, cum eo venissem, III Id. Febr. Lenius mihi reddidit datas A. D. Kal. Octobr.*

² *Legati Appiani.*] Pliny in the passage, which I have quoted, in one of the remarks upon the foregoing epistle mentions the *Appiani* amongst the several people, which were included within the jurisdiction of *Synnada*. And Father Harduin observes, that in the sixth general council *Peter* bishop of *Appia*, *πῶλεως Ἀππίας*, is joined in a subscription with another bishop of *Phrygia*, and that in the *Notitia Eccles.* *Ἀππία* is reckoned among the episcopal sees. These testimonies therefore clearly prove, that there was such a city as Appia in Phrygia, and consequently

quently, that we ought to read, in this place, with Dr. Mead's MS. and some others, *Appiani*, and not *Apameani*. See Cellarii Notitia Orbis Antiq. 3. c. 4.

³ *Quod eorum aedificationem impedissem.*] This was some temple or public monument, which they intended to erect in honor of Appius. For they had arrived to such a degree of baseness and flattery in the Asiatic Provinces, that they erected temples, altars and statues to every Roman governor or proconsul, who came amongst them. Cicero declined every thing of this kind, and, as he tells Atticus, *ob haec beneficia, quibus illi obstupescunt, nullos honores mihi, nisi verborum decerni sino; statuas, fana, τέθηκται prohibeo.* ep. 21. l. 5. And Suetonius mentions in praise of Augustus, that he never suffered any of these public monuments to be erected to him, without adding the name of the city of Rome to his own name. *Templa quamvis sciret etiam proconsulibus decerni solere, in nulla tamen provincia, nisi communi suo Romaeque nomine suscepit.* c. 52. Hence we often read in ancient inscriptions,

ROMAE. ET. AVGVSTO
CAESARI. DIVI. F.

And upon the ruins of a temple at Athens,

Ο. ΔΗΜΟΣ. ΘΕΑΙ. ΡΩΜΗΙ. ΚΑΙ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΙ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ.

Dio is mistaken in supposing that this practice only obtained in the later ages of Rome and under the emperors. For the Syracusians instituted an annual Festival, which they called *Marcellæ*, in honor of *Marcellus*; and T. Quinctius Flamininus had temples, priests, and altars consecrated to him in conjunction with Hercules and Apollo. See Cicero in Verr. 2. 21. Rubenii Dissert. de Gemm. Augustæa.

* *Quid Athenodorus Sandonis filius.*] He was a great favourite of Augustus, and appointed by him to be tutor
to

to Tiberius. He is the same that advised the emperor, whenever he found himself heated with anger, to repeat the 24 letters of the alphabet, and contrived a pleasant trick, to represent to him the danger, to which he exposed himself, by his frequent intrigues with women. Sueton. in Vit. Tib. 4. Plutarch. Apotheg. Dio lib. 56.

⁵ *ῥαπ' ἰμὸν γέ.*] These words are spoken by Agamemnon to Achilles, when he threatened to leave the confederates and return home. Mr. Pope hath given the following translation of the beginning of the speech, in which this passage is included,

*To this the King : Fly, mighty warrior ! fly,
Thy aid we need not, and thy threats defy.
There want not chiefs in such a cause to fight,
And Jove himself shall guard a Monarch's right.*

Iliad. i. 174.

EPIST. IX.

¹ *VIX tandem legi literas dignas Appio.*] This letter is the next in order after those, which precede it. It is an answer to a friendly one, which Cicero had just then received from Appius, and was written in the beginning of the year 703. After returning him thanks for the civilities of that letter, he congratulates him upon the prospect, which he had, of obtaining a triumph ; begs him to compleat his treatise upon Augury, and concludes with entreating, in an earnest manner, the concurrence of his interest and authority to the decree of a *supplication* or *public thanksgiving*, which his friends were then soliciting for him at Rome, upon account of his late success in his province.

² *Adeunt fere omnes si quid velis*] That is, *adeunt te fere omnes rogaturi, num quid velis.* Thus Terence Heaut. 3. 4. 5. *visam, si domi sit.* And Florus III. 3. *consulentes, si quid*

quid ad uxores suas mandarent. The Greeks use it in the same manner.

³ *Longi subsellii.*] Pompey used to give this name to the determinations of the senate, from the length of the benches, upon which the senators used to sit, and distinguish them from the determinations of the courts of judicature; where the benches were much shorter. Cicero therefore tells Appius, that though the senate might delay the decree of his triumph for a day or two; yet he need not doubt, but that his extraordinary merit, and dignity will surmount all difficulties. See Midd. Rom. senat. p. 146.

Pro nostra non instituta, sed jam] We must read this passage in the following manner, as it hath been corrected by Gronovius, *velim pro tua fide diligentiaque et pro nostra non instituta jam, sed inveterata amicitia cures.* &c.

EPIST. X.

^{*} *CUM est ad nos allatum de temeritate*] Coelius had acquainted Cicero, that Dolabella, with whom his wife and friends were negotiating a marriage for Tullia, had impeached Appius of practices against the state, in his government of Cilicia, and of bribery and corruption in his suit for the consulship. Cicero therefore in this letter in order to prevent any suspicion of treachery to his friend upon account of the alliance, which it was expected he would have with the accuser, professes his surprise and astonishment at the impeachment, and promises all the assistance that his authority and influence in the province could afford him. Ep. 12. lib. 8. Life of Cicero v. 2. p. 42.

² *Quod certissimum et justissimum triumphum*] Appius prudently dropt all his pretensions to a triumph upon the first news of the impeachment, and offered himself to a trial

trial, before his accusers were prepared for him. Vid. ep. 12. lib. 8.

³ *Quanti Pompeium.*] Pompey and Brutus were both related to Appius by marriage. Cicero mentions this in the fourth letter of this book: *duos duarum aetatum plurimi facio; Cn. Pompeium, filiae tuae socerum, et M. Brutum, generum tuum.*

Si vero efficit, ut censores creentur.] We may observe from this place, that the censors were not regularly chosen every five years, but at very different and various intervals of time, as the exigencies of the state required. Appius and L. Piso, who were both chosen this year U. C. 703. were the two last during the liberty of the republic.

⁴ *Erga fortes et industrios viros.*] Notwithstanding Dr. Mead's MS. and several others read *industrios*; yet I doubt not but that we ought to admit the alteration which hath been made by Graevius, upon the authority of one of his own MSS. *erga fortes et inlustres viros*. It is in the MS. *industres*.

⁵ *A M. Coelio.*] The letter, to which Cicero refers, is the 12th of the 8th book.

⁶ *Nimirum ex Epicteto.*] I took care to insert these words in the text, notwithstanding they are omitted in almost all the editions, except that of Victorius. For they are found in the best MSS with little variation. In Dr. Mead's in particular the reading is: *nimirum ex epicteto*: and in one of Graevius, *ex epictote*; and they agree well with the matter of fact. For it appears from a passage in a former letter, that the principal persons of several cities complained to Cicero of the extravagant allowances, which had been decreed for the use of the ambassadors: and amongst the rest, the inhabitants of *Midaëum* in particular. But it is well known, that *Midaëum* belonged to that part of Phrygia minor, which was cal-

led *Epistetos*: Strabo reckoning it amongst the cities of that division: τῆς δ' Επικτήτου Φρυγίας Αζανοί τέ εἰσι, καὶ Νακόλεια, καὶ Κοτυάειον, καὶ ΜΙΔΑΙΟΝ &c. lib. xii. p. 396. Cellarii Geog. l. 3. c. 4.

⁷ *Ad legem Corneliam.*] See Remarks upon Epist. 9. i. p. 381.

Sed ne humile quidem aut jejunum.] *Jejunus* in this place hath the same signification as *invidus*, *malevolus*, and is, I think, used by Cicero often in this sense, though not commonly taken notice of: thus ep. 20. lib. x. *indicabo temerarium meum consilium tibi, nihilominus ire decreram, existimans eum socium gloriae vitare: putabam posse me nec de laude jejuni hominis delibare quidquam* &c. Again: Phil. xiv. c. 6. *Haec interposui, P. C. non tam ut pro me dixerim, — quam ut quosdam nimis jejuno animo — monerem, uti excellentium civium imitatione dignam, non invidia putarent.* See also ep. 8. lib. 2.

Cum tu ex fratre meo ne tunc quidem.] When Cicero's friends were endeavouring to recall him from banishment. For Appius was at that time *Praetor*, and though at first he supported his brother, and opposed the repeal of his law; yet at last he deserted him, and joined the other party. Cic. pro Domo. 33. Life of Cic. v. i. 396.

⁸ *Litterae interiores.*] *Litterae interiores* are learning of a refined and subtil nature. This may be collected from Cicero himself. Brut. c. 76. *erant in eo plurimae litterae nec eae vulgares, sed interiores quaedam et reconditae.* The distinction among the Romans of *litterae vulgares* and *interiores* is much the same with that of the λόγοι ἐξωτερικοὶ and ἐσωτερικοὶ or ἀκροατικοὶ among the Greeks; for the former treated of popular subjects, and in a popular manner; and the latter of abstruse and dark points of philosophy, with great accuracy and precision. Thus Gellius, lib. 20. c. 5. *Ἐξωτερικὰ dicebantur, quae ad Rhetoricas meditationes*

ditiones, facultatem argutiarum, civiliumque rerum notitiam conducebant. Ἀποαρύια vocabantur, in quibus philosophia remotior subtiliorque agitabatur, quaeque ad naturae contemplationes disceptationesque dialecticas pertinebant.

⁹ *Cognosce.*] It is plain, that there is a great deal wanting in this letter; but it cannot be determined, whether it hath been lost out of the MSS. by any accident, or was omitted by Cicero's order, when this collection of letters to Appius was first published.

EPIST. XI.

¹ *CUM essem in castris.*] This letter was written not long after that, which precedes it, and congratulates Appius upon his being acquitted of part of his accusation, which concerned the male administration of his province. For that is comprehended under the general head of *laesae majestatis*, as will be more particularly shewn in the next Remark.

² *De absolutione majestatis.*] This was one of the highest crimes, of which a Roman citizen could be guilty, and severely punished in the earliest ages of the republic. It comprehended every thing that either lessened the dignity or endangered the security of the Roman people. The Author of the books of Rhetoric, inscribed to Herennius, defines it in the following manner: *majestatem is minuit, qui ea tollit, ex quibus rebus civitatis amplitudo constat.* And in other words, a few lines below: *majestatem is minuit, qui amplitudinem civitatis detrimento afficit.* lib. 2. 12. See also Cicero de Orat. 2. 39. Partit. Orat. 30.

The other crime, with which Appius was charged, was that of bribery and corruption in sueing for the consulship; and this was included under the general term of *ambitus*. See Heinecc. lib. 4. tit. 18.

² *Veruntamen est majestas (et sic Sylla voluit) ne in quemvis impune declamare liceret.*] This passage hath not yet

been understood by any of the commentators. The reading in the text, and the interpretation of it given by Manutius and Gronovius suppose, that the Cornelian law *de majestate* made it high-treason to defame or inveigh against another without reason. But that cannot be true. For Sigonius makes this a part of the law: CALVMNIATORIBVS. NVLLA. POENA. SIT. And Tacitus expressly declares, that Augustus was the first, who ranked defamation under the crime of high-treason: *legem majestatis reduxerat; cui nomen apud veteres idem, sed alia in judicium veniebant: si quis proditione exercitum, aut plebem seditionibus, denique male gesta republica majestatem populi Romani minuisset. Facta arguebantur, dicta impune erant.* Primus Augustus *cognitionem de famosis libellis, &c.* Annal. lib. I. 72. We must therefore introduce a different reading, and with Lambin change *ne* into *ut*; though I think it unnecessary to depart any farther from the MSS. *verumtamen ea est majestas, et sic Sylla voluit, ut in quemvis impune declamare liceret.* Dr. Mead's MS. reads *declamari*. The genuine text being thus restored, the whole passage will admit of the following meaning. After Cicero had congratulated Appius on his being acquitted of high-treason, he introduces him making this objection: *You congratulate me for being acquitted of one crime, but I am still accused of the other: what difference is there between being under an accusation of bribery and high-treason?* to which Cicero replies: *ad rem nihil, as to the event nothing at all; for you will undoubtedly be acquitted of both. But such is the nature of the one, and especially, as the Cornelian law allows every one to bring a charge of it with impunity, that it is often difficult to clear one self: whereas the other is of so public a nature, that in the course of a trial it always evidently appears, either on the one hand, that the accusation is malicious and unjust; or that the defence is ill grounded and false.*

Ut

* *Ut enim Aristarchus.*] A celebrated Grammarian, who applied himself wholly to criticism, and commented upon *Pindar*, *Aratus*, and other Poets. But the work, for which he was the most eminent, was an edition of *Homer's* poems, which he revised with incredible exactness. But in a manner too magisterial, for he rejected those verses, as spurious, which he did not approve. Cicero alludes to this in another letter, ep. x. ix. *Alter Aristarchus hos ὀβελίζει.* *Ego tanquam criticus antiquus, judicaturus sum, utrum sint ἢ ποιητῶν, ἢ παρρησιασθέντων.* It is said that Aristarchus marked the verses, which he condemned with the figure of a dart; from whence the word ὀβελίζει acquired the signification of *condemning*, *rejecting*, &c.

† *Et in censura—de Proavo cogitato tuo.*] Appius Coecus, who was censor A. U. 441. Cicero means by the word *Proavus* nothing more, than what we express by the word *Ancestor*.

EPIST. XII.

‘*GRATULABOR tibi prius.*] Graevius upon the authority of one of his MSS. reads *primum*. This letter was most probably written sometime in August A. U. 703. for he mentions some letters, which he received from home in the beginning of that month, and it is not likely, that he should defer writing to Appius much longer, after having received the news of his being acquitted of the second accusation, and of Dolabella's marriage with his daughter Tullia. For this letter is written to congratulate Appius upon account of the former, and to free himself from any suspicion of being concerned at all in the latter.

Sed ita cecidisse.] Read with Gronovius: *et ita cecidisse*; for *sed* hath no place in the connection and reasoning of this passage.

² *Litterae a meis sunt redditae.*] These were the letters, which brought him an account of his daughter's marriage with Dolabella. Servilius, a friend and agent of Appius, was much disturbed at it, being under some apprehension, lest it should have been carried on with the concurrence and approbation of Cicero. This was the occasion of Cicero's declaring, that, with regard to Appius, *omnia a se majora expectaret.*

EPIST. XIII.

¹ *QUASI divinarem.*] Cicero returns Appius thanks in this letter for the pains, which he had taken to procure a public thanksgiving in his name; and though he put him in mind, that he had upon the same occasion been once equally zealous for him, yet he tells him, that *he had paid more than he had received.* I think we ought to read with Gronovius: *non solum auctoritate*, oratione, *sententia tua*, instead of *auctoritate orationis*. And a few lines below, Dr. Mead's MS. reads: *nullum onus officii*; but *nullum munus* is better, and used more frequently by Cicero. See ep. 15. 23. 6. Life of Cic. v. 2. 29.

² *Cum iis artibus studiisque, quae colimus.*] That MS. which Graevius calls the *first*, reads: *quam his artibus studiisque colimus*, which is much better than the common reading; but it will be still better to read, *quam iisdem artibus studiisque colimus.*

³ *Uti tu meos facere posses.*] Cicero alludes in this place to Dolabella his son-in-law, and wishes there could be a reconciliation made between him and Appius.

⁴ *Adversus magistrum morum.*] One principal branch of the office of *Censor* was to inspect the morals and behavior of the R. P. Thus Cicero de leg. 3. *mores populi regunt.* And Metellus in a speech, which he addressed to the new censors: *non obliti sumus, censores, vos paulo ab universo populo R. moribus nostris praepositos esse.* Liv. 40. 46.

THE

THE
REMARKS
UPON THE
FOURTH BOOK.

EPIST. I.

¹*CAIUS Trebatius.*] This is the first letter in order of time of the whole correspondence, that is now extant between Cicero and Servius Sulpicius Rufus. It was written in the year U. C. 704. after Pompey had quitted Italy and fled into Greece. The time of writing it may be determined more exactly. For Cicero mentions the conversation, which he had with Caesar upon the 28th or 29th of March; and in a letter to Atticus, dated the 18th or 19th of April, he takes notice of this very letter to Sulpicius; so that it must have been written within that time. It is an answer to a letter from Sulpicius, wherein he had desired to have a conference with Cicero, to consult in common, what measures they ought to take in this turbulent situation of public affairs. Epist. ad Attic. 7. l. 9. See the character of *Sulpicius* in the Life of Cicero. v. 2. 361. concerning *Trebatius*, lib. 7. ep. 6.

²*Cum ad urbem accessissem.*] See Rem. 2. ep. 7. l. 3.

³*In consulatu tuo.*] Sulpicius was consul with M. Claudius Marcellus, A. U. 702, and overruled the fury and immoderate zeal of his colleague against Caesar. See Life of Cic. v. 2. 54.

⁴*Sive potius in conventum senatorum.*] A meeting of the senate, to which Cicero refers, was called by Caesar after his return from Brundisium, when he had been in pur-

suit of Pompey. He calls it *conventum senatorum*, because he did not esteem it a regular and lawful meeting called together by proper authority. Thus also in a letter to Atticus, ep. i. x. *jam actum aliquid esse in consessu senatorum; senatum enim non puto.*

⁵ *Cui quidem ego.*] Caesar in his return from *Brundisium* called upon Cicero at *Formiae*. Cicero here alludes to Caesar, and the conversation which he had with him at that time; of which he sent a long account to Atticus. Ep. 18. 9. Life of Cic. v. 2. 96.

EPIST. II.

¹ *A. D. III. Kal. Majas.*] Cicero, after having received another letter from Sulpicius, consented at last, at the request of his wife and son, to appoint him a meeting at *Cumae*. The principal business of this letter is, to intimate to him his intention of leaving Italy, and to advise him, if he has not taken the same resolution, to save himself the trouble of a journey. But notwithstanding this, Sulpicius came to him upon the 8th of May, and Cicero gives an account of their meeting, in a letter to Atticus. Ep. 14. 15. lib x.

² *Quod etiam mecum, ut ad te scriberem, egerunt.*] The construction of these words is thus: *quod etiam ut ad te scriberem, mecum egerunt.*

³ *Quae geruntur.*] Caesar was now in Spain, subduing that province to his own authority, and driving out the lieutenants of Pompey.

EPIST. III.

¹ *VEHEMENTER te esse sollicitum.*] After the defeat and death of Pompey, Caesar appointed Sulpicius to be governor of Achaia. Sulpicius accepted of it, and made Athens the chief place of his residence. He was there, when Cicero wrote this consolatory letter to him

him, A. U. 707. some time between the conclusion of the African war, and the beginning of the war in Spain, against the sons of Pompey.

² *Multam partem consulatus tui.*] Sulpicius was consul A. U. 702. and Cicero set out for his government of Cilicia, in the beginning of May of the same year; so that he was absent 8 months of his consulship.

³ *In hoc bello — praedicendo.*] Without all doubt, we ought to read in this place *praecidendo*, instead of *praedicendo*; for the latter is very improper. *Praecidere bellum* is an elegant expression, and the word is frequently used in a similar manner by Cicero, *praecidere amicitiam* in his second book of offices, c. 33. and *cunctationem praecidere* in a letter to Varro. 1. lib. 9. We meet with it in Horace almost applied to the same purpose. 1 Ep. 2. 5.

Antenor censet belli praecidere causam.

See Heuman. Parerga critica.

⁴ *Et consilium tuum.*] Sulpicius advised the senate to permit Caesar to take the consulship without coming to sue for it, and to suffer him to continue in the government of the two Gauls, till the time of his commission should expire. But this was opposed by Pompey, Marcelcellus, &c.

⁵ *Tuae scientiae.*] The knowledge of the law: Sulpicius had the reputation of being superior in that to all, who had ever professed it in Rome: being the first, who reduced it to a science or rational system, and added light and method to that, which all others before him had taught confusedly and darkly. Cic. de clar. Orat. c. 40.

EPIST. IV.

¹ *ACCIPIO excusationem tuam.*] This letter is an answer to one from Sulpicius, wherein he had given his reasons for accepting the government of Achaia, and was written in the latter end of the year U. C. 707. for it

it concludes with an account of Caesar's pardoning Marcellus, which did not happen till after he had put an end to the war in Africa and returned to Rome.

² *Uno exemplo.*] See Remark 3. ep. 3. l. 2.

³ *Illam partem excusationis—nec nosco.*] Dr. Mead's MS. reads *nosco*; and Gronovius hath plainly shewn, iv. de Pec. Vet. c. 3. that *noscere excusationem* is the same as *accipere, admittere excusationem*. Cicero hath used in another place, *noscere causam*. ad Attic. xi. 7. *quod te excusas, ego vero et tuas causas nosco*.

⁴ *Quod de Marcelli.*] M. Marcellus, after the defeat of Pompey at Pharfalia, went to Mitylene in Lesbos, where he lived in a philosophical retirement, and in so much ease, that Cicero could scarce persuade him to accept of the favour, which the earnest intreaties of the senate procured for him from Caesar, of returning to Rome. See more of him in the Remarks upon Letter 20th of this book.

Ne hominis quidem causa.] Dr. Mead's MS. as well as most of the others read, *hominis quidem causa*: But Victorius, Lambin, Graevius and Gronovius, all recommend *ominis quidem causa*. Caesar was unwilling to reject this first petition of the senate, lest they might look upon it as an omen of what they were always to expect from him.

⁵ *L. Pisonem.*] L. Calpurnius Piso, who had been consul A. U. 695. with Gabinus, and was father-in-law to Caesar. Cicero spoke a celebrated invective against him, upon his return from the province of Macedonia, wherein he is represented to be a monster of impiety and absurdity. The oration is still extant amongst Cicero's works under the title of *Oratio in Pisonem*.

Praeter Volcatium, is enim &c.] That is, *All returned thanks to Caesar, except Volcatius*; for he declared, that he would not have done it, if he had been in the place of Marcellus. For he thought it a mark of infidelity and levity in Marcellus to be reconciled to Caesar, after having
treated

treated him in so hostile a manner, as he had done upon all occasions.

² *Itaque pluribus verbis egi.*] Caesar, notwithstanding he saw the senate unanimous in requesting the pardon of Marcellus, yet desired to know each particular senator's opinion. He did this most probably to *make an experiment of Cicero's temper*, and to draw out from him some testimony in his favour. Cicero took the bait and spoke an extemporary oration upon this occasion, which is equal to any of the productions of antiquity. See Orat. pro Marcell. Life of Cic. v. 2. 166.

EPIST. V.

¹ *M. CURIUS, qui Patris negotiatur.*] This and the eleven following letters are placed in the editions of Cicero's works amongst the letters of the thirteenth book; but being all written to the same person, to whom the letters in the beginning of this book are written, and whilst he was governor of Achaia, in the years U. C. 707. and 708, I thought it proper to place them here. Their date cannot be determined with greater exactness, because they do not relate to any particular facts in history, but are only commendations of Cicero's friends and dependants to the protection and favour of Sulpicius. *M. Curius* is recommended in this letter, of whom some account will be given in the Remarks upon the letters to him, in the thirteenth book. He is said here to be a merchant at *Patrae*, a city of *Peloponnesus*, much frequented by the Romans, and is one of those persons, who were called *negotiatores*. For the Roman lawyers distinguish between *Mercator* and *Negotiator*. The former, they say, is a person, whose dwelling and principal fortunes are at Rome, but who makes frequent voyages to distant parts to transact the business of trade and commerce. The latter is a Roman citizen, whose dwelling
and

and fortunes are in the provinces, and who seldom comes to Rome, but transacts his business there by his *Patron* or *Proctor*. I cannot pretend to determine, whether this distinction is invariably true ; but, however, this is certain, that those who resided in the provinces were called by that name, and so numerous as to form themselves into companies or societies, or *collegia negotiatorum*.

CRASSO. MACROBIO.

NEGOTIATORES

PROVINCIAE

APVL. DEFEN

SORI. OPTIMO

L. L. D. D.

Gruter. C.D. xxx. III. x.

See Sigon. de Antiq. Ju. R. Civ. 2. 10. Heinec. Antiq. Rom. IV. 7.

² *Sine ambitione.*] Without any view to self-interest.

EPIST. VI.

NON *concedam.*] In this letter Cicero in an artful manner recommends the affairs of Atticus to Sulpicius. For Epirus, where Atticus had a large property, was under the jurisdiction of the governor of Achaia : and it is not unlikely, but that such a person as he, who took all opportunities of improving his fortune, had some affairs to be transacted at Athens and other places. See Nepot. vit. Attici.

EPIST. VII.

CUM *Lyfone Patrensi.*] The person recommended in this letter is the same, to whose care Cicero when he returned from Cilicia left his beloved Tiro in his illness. He had attached himself to the cause of Pompey, but was at present reconciled to Caesar, and recommended by him to Sulpicius.

EPIST.

EPIST. VIII.

C*UM antea capiebam.]* Lyso had acquainted Cicero of the influence, which his letters had upon Sulpicius; in this, therefore, Cicero returns him thanks, and continues his recommendation with the same earnestness. *Facilitas* is mentioned as part of the character of *Sulpicius*: the meaning of which may be best understood from the definition, which Cicero himself gives of it in another place. *Haec igitur proclivitas ad suum quodque genus, a similitudine corporis, aegrotatio dicitur, dum ea intelligatur ad aegrotandum proclivitas. Sed haec in bonis rebus, quod alii ad alia bona sunt aptiores, facilitas nominetur, in malis proclivitas, ut significet lapsionem.* iv. Tus. dis. 12.

EPIST. IX.

A*SCCLAPONE Patrensi.]* This person is the physician who took care of *Tiro* in the above mentioned illness.

EPIST. X.

M. *Aemilius Avianus.]* In Dr. Mead's MS. *perurbanus* is a marginal reading instead of *perhumanus*: it is found in one or two more MSS, and either the one or the other will do. But there is certainly an error in *diligendus*, notwithstanding the MSS. are uniform in recommending it. *Lambin* conjectures, that we ought to read *diligentissimus*, and *Manutius* *diligens*.

² *Sicyone.]* *Sicyon* is a city of *Peloponnesus*, not far distant from *Corinth*, and under the jurisdiction of the governor of *Achaia*. From a proverb, which *Cicero* puts into the mouth of *Socrates*, we may conclude, that the genius and temper of the inhabitants of those two neighbouring cities were much the same. For upon returning
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the oration, which *Lyſſas* made for him, and reſuſing to make uſe of it in his defence before the judges, he added this reaſon : *ut, ſi mihi calceos Sicyonios attuliſſes, non uterer, quamvis eſſent habiles, et apti ad pedem ; quia non eſſent viriles ; ſic illam orationem diſertam ſibi et oratoriam videri, fortem et virilem non videri.* De Orat. i. 54.

Cybirae commorari.] *Cybira*, or rather *Cibyra*, was a city of *Phrygia major*, ſituated upon the banks of the river *Maeander*, and gave name to one of the three Aſiatic diocēſes, which were under the jurifdiſtion of the governor of Cilicia. For we read in Cicero's letters to Atticus of *jurifdiſtio Cibyratica*, and *forum Cibyraticum*. Ep. 21. 5. The reaſon of my preferring the latter method of writing the word, is grounded upon the inſcription upon the baſe of the Coloſſus of Tiberius, which is preſerved at Naples. For among the cities, which had been overthrown by an earthquake and rebuilt again, the ſeventh, which is mentioned there, is CIBYRA. Cellarii Not. Antiq. 3. 4. Tacit. An. 4. 3.

EPIST. XII.

¹*ITUM Manlium.*] See rem. i. ep. 5. h. l. *Theſpiae* was a city of Baeotia, ſituated at the foot of mount Helicon. It was ſacred to the muſes, and from thence they were called by the poets, *Theſpiades*.

²*Varro Murena.*] We may obſerve here, that Varro was the cognomen of the Terentian family, and Murena that of the Licinian family. Both which names might have been united in the ſame perſon by adoption ; for though the method of changing names by perſons, that were adopted, was generally that, which I have taken notice of above, rem. i. ep. 8. lib. 2. yet it was not always obſerved ; for ſometimes they retained their own cognomen as M. Junius Brutus, being adopted by Q. Servilius Caepio, was afterwards called Q. Servilius Caepio Brutus. And D. Junius

nus Brutus, being adopted by A. Postumius Albinus, was then called A. Postumius Albinus Brutus. Onuph. Panvin. de Nom. R.

EPIST. XIII.

¹ *L. Cossinio — tribuli tuo.*] That is, a member of the same tribe with yourself.

EPIST. XIV.

¹ *HAGESARETUS Larissaeus.*] An inhabitant of Larissa, a city of Thessaly; Caesar mentions it as the last place in that country, which held out against him: *nulla Thessaliae fuit civitas praetor Larissaeos, qui magnis exercitibus Scipionis tenebantur, quin Caesari pareret.* 3. de B. civ. 81.

EPIST. XV.

¹ *L. Mescinius.*] See rem. i. ep. 18. lib. 5.

² *Qui Eli.*] Elis was a city of Peloponnesus, which gave a name to one of the divisions of that part of Greece.

³ *Te disceptatore.*] Cicer. Partitio. Orat. c. 3. *aut Auscultator est modo, qui audit; aut disceptator, id est, rei sententiaeque moderator.*

⁴ *M. Lepido consule.*] This therefore was written A.U. 707. for Lepidus was consul with J. Caesar at that time.

EPIST. XVI.

¹ *ET SI libenter peterent.*] Cicero in this letter not only recommends the affairs of Mescinius to Sulpicius, but also concludes with recommending the Lacedaemonians to his patronage and protection. These two things having no connection with each other, Manutius concluded, that this letter ought to be divided into two: but he has neither reason nor authority on his side. For the two parts are plainly connected together, and all the MSS. agree in uniting them.

² *Si quid satisfidendum sit.*] That is, *If it shall be found necessary to give security, that no one shall hereafter make any claim to the inheritance, cures ut satisfidetur mea fide; I desire to be engaged for it.*

³ *Quas avertit Oppia.*] The meaning of *avertere* in this place is to purloin, to embezzle, &c. Cicero uses it more than once in this sense; *pecuniam publicam avertere, aliquid de publico avertere.* In Ver. iv. 24.

Id tibi confirmo.] *Tibi confirmo* is omitted in Dr. Mead's MS. and the place is read thus; *id in me recipio.* But it is found in many others; and that or something else is necessary to complete the sentence. *In meque* being retained, it is not unlikely, but that it is the true reading, and omitted originally through negligence and inattention.

EPIST. XVII.

• *POSTEAQUAM mihi renuntiatum est.*] The occasion of this letter being written by Sulpicius was the unfortunate death of Tullia, Cicero's daughter. She was brought-to-bed of a child by her husband Dolabella, and judged at first to have been in a fair way of recovery; but an unexpected turn in her case put an end to her life, to the inexpressible grief of her father. He received upon this occasion compliments of condolence from all his friends: but no letter of this kind hath ever been more justly admired or highly valued, than that which is at present under our consideration. It was written in the beginning of the year U.C. 708. probably sometime in April: for we find that Caesar wrote to him upon the same subject the last day of that month. ad Attic. 13. 20. Plut. vit. Cic. Epist. fam. 6. 19. Life of Cic. v. 2. 178.

² *Callere.*] *How can a mind after having been exercised in such trials not grow callous, and think every thing else of less value?* But you grieve perhaps for your daughter's sake. Yet how often must you reflect as well as I, that in
these

these miserable times, those are not hardly dealt with, who are forced to exchange life for death without any share in the common calamity? The connection of this passage plainly shews, that we ought to read; *at illius vicem, credo, doles*, instead of, *an illius vicem, credo, doles*? See Wopkens' Lect. Tullian. 2. 2.

Licetum est tibi, credo.] This is spoken ironically; for it would have been no topic of consolation to Cicero to have been told, that he might have made choice out of the young nobility of many persons, who were deserving of his alliance, and to whose care he might have entrusted his daughter. The argument runs thus: *What is there in the present situation of affairs, that could have made her desirous of life? could she expect to pass her days in the married state with some young man of rank and quality? as if in these days of corruption and degeneracy, you could have found any one, to whose fidelity you might safely have entrusted her.* *Ex hac juventute*, that is, as Cicero expresses himself; *his præsertim moribus atque temporibus; quibus ita prolapsa est, ut omnium opibus refrænanda ac coercenda sit.* De Div. 2. 3. 2. See epist. ad Con. Middleton by Dr. Tunstall, p. 186.

Proiecta jaceant.] In Dr. Mead's MS. *jacent. Read jacerent.*
Primariis adolescentibus.] See the last remark upon ep. 7. b. 1. Tullia's third husband was Publius Cornelius Lentulus Dolabella. Dr. Middleton hath justly animadverted upon Mr. Bayle for being surprised to find *Asconius* so ill informed of the history of Tullia, as to tell us, that she was married to P. Lentulus, and died in childhood in his house. But the blunder may be traced higher than Mr. Bayle. For Manutius, in no less than two notes upon this letter, wonders at the same negligence and ignorance of Asconius; not reflecting, that Tullia's third husband was called indifferently, either Dolabella, or P. Lentulus. Life of Cicero, v. 2. p. 180.

EPIST. XVIII.

¹ *EGO vero, Servi.*] This letter is an answer to the foregoing one from *Sulpicius*. In the account, which is given a few lines below, of the friendly behavior of young *Servius*: *cujus officia jucundiora scilicet saepe mihi fuerint, nunquam gratiora*. *Graevius* conjectures, that *scilicet* ought to be omitted; it being the blunder of some scribe; for the MSS. disagree much from each other in the reading of that word. But as all of them retain some traces of a word in this place, will it not be better to read it thus: *cujus officia, jucundiora licet saepe mihi fuerint, nunquam gratiora*. Dr. Mead's MSS. hath: *cujus officia jucundiora s. saepe fuerunt, &c.*

² *Consanuisse.*] Dr. Mead's MS. hath *consenuisse*; but *consanuisse* is better. For *consanesco* and *consano* have each the same signification as the uncompounded *sano*. *Victorius* likewise prefers this reading.

EPIST. XIX.

¹ *ETS I scio non jucundissimum.*] This letter was written upon the 30th of May in the same year with the two which preceed it; and gives an account of the surprising murder of M. Marcellus, whose pardon the senate had so lately and earnestly solicited with Caesar. Their proceedings in that affair, and success in it, is related by Cicero in the fourth letter of this book. Read in the 4th line; *vos certiores ut facerem*.

² *Cum ab Epidauro.*] A city of Peloponnesus, famous for the temple and worship of *Æsculapius*. See *Livii* 45. 28. *Cic. de nat. deor.* 3. 34.

³ *Supra Maleas.*] The MSS. are much divided about the reading of this word; but this, which is adopted by *Victorius*, is the true one. For *Malea* or *Maleas* (I find

it used both ways by the Greek and Latin writers) was a promontory on the eastern side of Peloponnesus, and the common course of a voyage from Athens to Rome. Victorius hath quoted two passages, the one from a letter of Pliny to Trajan, and the other from Plutarch's life of Aratus, which hath put the thing beyond all dispute. Plin. x. 26. *Nuntio tibi, me Ephesum cum omnibus meis ὑπὲρ Μαλαῶν navigasse.* Plutar. in vit. Arat. *Ἀνέχθη μὲν ἐν ἀπὸ Μετώνης ὑπὲρ Μαλίας, &c.* See also Livi. 31. 47. 34. 32.

* *Hora decima noctis.*] In order to understand this, it must be observed, that the ancient Romans divided the day or the time, that the sun continues above the horizon, into twelve hours; and began their reckoning at sun-rising. In the same manner they divided the night, or the time of the sun's continuance below the horizon, into twelve hours, and began that reckoning at sun-set. The hours therefore of the night and day were never of an equal length but twice in the whole year; that is, at the two equinoxes, when the sun in the compass of twenty-four hours is the same time below the horizon that it is above it. But both then and at all other times of the year, though their hours varied in their length, yet they had the same number in their night, which they had in their day, and in their summer nights, which they had in their winter nights. Upon this division of time therefore the *decima hora noctis* might and ought to fall before day, notwithstanding it was the month of May when this affair happened. *Circiter hora decima noctis Posthumius — venit — et vestigio eo sum profectus prima luce.*

* *A P. Magio Cilone.*] P. Magius Cilo had followed the fortunes of Marcellus, and was now returning with him to Italy. It was never certainly known, what induced him to commit this horrid fact. Cicero's conjecture was, that *Marcellus had refused to furnish him with money to pay his*

debts, which provoked him to the madness of killing his patron, ad Attic. 13. 10. But Valerius Maximus delivers it as the opinion of others, that he thought himself slighted by Marcellus, and took this revenge *indignatus aliquem amicorum ab eo sibi praeferri. 9. 21.* See life of Cicero, v. 2. 197.

Uti cogere[m] medicos.] *Cogere[m]* is omitted in Dr. Mead's MS. and *ad se irem* is written in the margin in fresher ink and a more modern hand. If this reading had been supported by the authority of any other books, I would willingly admit it, and read the whole thus; *qui haec nuntiaret et rogaret, uti ad se irem. Medicos coegi, et e vestigio, &c.* But Manutius found the reading in the text in five books. There is therefore no reason to reject it.

⁶ *Cum codicillis.]* *Codicilli* were little pocket books, in which the ancients used to write down, in short notes, those things which they wanted to remember, which were afterwards either to be transcribed at large into other books, or else erased out, when they had served the particular purposes, for which they were intended. They sometimes made use of them in writing to their friends, but only, when they had either very little to write, or were in great haste, as in the present case. They were called *Pugillares* as well as *Codicilli*, and were generally made of wood, and covered with wax; upon which the characters were made with an instrument, which was called *Stylus*. Plin. epist. 9. 36.

⁷ *Reliquos aiebant perfugisse, metu perterritos.]* They were terrified, because by the laws of Rome, they were all to suffer the same punishment with the criminal for not defending their master. Tacitus hath mentioned this law, and related an instance of its being put in execution. Pedanius Secundus, governor of the city, was murdered by one of his slaves. It was therefore debated in the senate, whether they should follow this rigorous law or no.

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It was at last determined in the affirmative; and without regard to the number of the slaves, the age, the sex and undoubted innocence of most, they were all condemned to death, and executed. *Vetere ex more*, says Tacitus, *familiam omnem, quae sub eodem tecto mansitaverunt, ad supplicium agi oporteret*. Annal. l. 14. c. 42.

⁸ *Intra urbem ut darent, impetrare non potui.*] The Athenians were prohibited by the laws of Solon to bury within the walls of the city. Hence one particular gate, through which their dead bodies were carried to their burial, was called *the sepulchral gate*; or, as they expressed themselves, Ἡρίαὶ πύλαι, from Ἡρίον, which signifies *monumentum, sepulchrum*. The places where they generally buried their dead were either at the gates of the city; or in the Ceramicus; or near the public roads, or at country seats; or lastly, in the Gymnasia, or public schools of the philosophers, as Marcellus was buried in the *Academy*. Athenae. lib. 13. p. 594. Thucyd. 2. c. 34. Petit. leges Attic. p. 596.

EPIST. XX.

¹ *TE et pietatis.*] M. Claudius Marcellus was consul with Servius Sulpicius A. U. 702. and during his whole consulship, distinguished himself by fiercely opposing Caesar's interest upon all occasions. This letter was written to him the latter end of that year, when Cicero was in Cilicia; and the business of it is to congratulate him upon the election of his kinsman to the consulship, and to intreat him to use his interest in preventing the prolongation of his commission in the province.

² *Et senatusconsulto et lege finisti.*] *Finire rem aliquam* is used by Cicero in the same sense as *describere*, or *certam rei alicujus mensuram constituere*. Thus in the place before us: *quod Sc. tempus tu finisti*; that is, *cui tempori tu certum finem constituisti*. Again in a letter to Atticus 8. 3.

M. que Marcello Cos. finienti provincias Gallias kal. Mart. restitit. Alfo de Fin. 2. 20. cupiditates non Epicuri divisione finiebat, sed sua satietate.

EPIST. XXI.

¹ *ET SI eo te adbuc consilio.*] There is a great interval in the correspondence between Cicero and Marcellus. For the preceeding letter was written A.U. 702, but this, which is the next in order of time, not till the year U.C. 707. Marcellus was then at Mitylene, whither he had retired after the battle of Pharsalia, despairing ever to see the cause of liberty triumphant, and disregarding any favour, which the conqueror had in his power to confer on him. But his friends at Rome were not unmindful of him : for Caesar no sooner returned from the African war, but they began to solicit his pardon. And Cicero acquaints him in this letter, with the favourable dispositions of Caesar towards him, and endeavours to persuade him to return to Rome, if his kinsman and other friends could have the good fortune to succeed in obtaining that liberty for him.

² *li, qui se in Africam.*] Dr. Mead's MSS. gives us a much better reading : *aut enim renovare bellum conati sunt : hique se in Africam contulerunt.* P. Varus had seized upon Africa on the part of the republic, and after the defeat of Pompey in Greece, Scipio, Cato, Labienus, and most of the principal men of that party, rendezvoused there. Those few, who were not amongst them, either returned to Italy, as Cicero did ; or else retired into some place remote from the seat of the war, as Marcellus.

³ *Fratri optimi.*] C. Marcellus was not a brother to M. Marcellus, but a first cozen, or a father's brother's son, and what they properly expressed by *Patruelis*.

EPIST. XXII.

N*EQ*UE *monere te.*] Cicero and the other friends of Marcellus were apprehensive, that he would never condescend to receive any favour from Caesar. This letter therefore was written upon the same subject with the preceding one, and not long after; it persuades him to think of returning home. But Cicero knowing the warmth of his temper, and the sullen haughtiness of his spirit, touches upon it with a great deal of tenderness, and manages his argument with infinite address and art.

Sed ea quoque quae non possum, putem.] Dr. Mead's MS. reads: *ut me non solum omnia debere tua causa, sed ea quoque quae non possum, putem.* And *quae possum* is not only omitted in this book, but in several others mentioned by Graevius. But, notwithstanding this, I think the reading of the text is to be preferred; and is likewise supported by the authority of one copy of some note and antiquity.

³ *Fore cum tuis, si modo tui erunt.*] This reading of the edition of Victorius is supported by Dr. Mead's MS. and is much more elegant than the vulgar one: *me tuum fore cum tuis.* Manutius observes upon this place, that it plainly appears, that Marcellus was not upon good terms with his own family. This may be confirmed from what Cicero says, Ep. 21. *a tuis reliquis non adhibemur*; and from what Marcellus says in his letter to Cicero. Ep. 24.

EPIST. XXIII.

E*TSI* *perpaucis ante diebus.*] Sigonius thinks, that this letter was written after Caesar had yielded to the request of the senate, and granted to Marcellus the liberty of returning to Rome. He grounds his opinion upon these words: *vide, ne superbi sit aspernari ejusdem liberalitatem.* But I am inclined to think, that this is referred

only to Caesar's general character of humanity, and to what Cicero had reason to expect from him, than to any particular instance of it : at least the words will admit of this interpretation.

² *Si is rempublicam teneret.*] Pompey. Dr. Meads MS, reads : *cum omnium nostrum conjunctum esset periculum suum cerneret*, &c. which confirms Graevius's conjecture, that *cerneret* ought to be omitted, and especially as it is not in the Medicean MS.

³ *Eum magis communem.*] Some books read *comem*, but Dr. Mead's hath *communem* ; and Graevius hath shewn by several instances, that *communis* hath the same signification as *comis*. One instance will be sufficient for me to produce : *Hic autem sic se gerebat, ut communis infimis, par principibus videretur*. C, Nep. vit. Attic. c. 3. I shall only take the liberty of observing that, if I mistake not, Cicero hath used *communis vita* in the following passage for civilized life. *At etiam literas, quas me sibi misisse diceret, recitavit, homo et humanitatis expertus et vitae communis ignarus. Quis enim unquam, qui paulum modo honorum consuetudinem nosset, literas ad se ab amico missas, offensione aliqua interposita, in medium protulit ; palamque recitavit ?* Phil. 2. c. 4.

⁴ *Impotentioresque reddit.*] That is, *more haughty, more insolent and ungovernable*. And this is the general meaning of *impotens*. Thus in Horace we read of *impotens auster* ; and in the following passage of Cicero it is joined with *intemperatus*. Ep. 2. x. *Quae potest enim spes esse in ea republica, in qua hominis impotentissimi atque intemperatissimi armis oppressa sunt omnia.*

EPIST. XXIV.

¹ *PLURIMUM valuisse.*] This letter from Marcellus is an answer to those from Cicero, wherein he had acquainted him with the success of their applications to Caesar

Caesar upon his account. Those letters are not now extant, but are well supplied by one to Sulpicius, in which the proceedings in that affair are related at large: Ep. 4. As another from Sulpicius likewise informs us, by what means Marcellus was prevented from ever enjoying the benefit of Caesar's indulgence, which the interest of his friends had procured for him. See Ep. 19.

EPIST. XXV.

ETS I nihil erat novi.] This letter was most probably written in the beginning of the year U. C. 708. It could not have been sooner than that; because Cicero mentions his expectations of seeing Marcellus. Nor could it have been later: because Marcellus was murdered upon his return home, in the latter end of May of the same year,

EPIST. XXVI.

QUAERENTI mihi.] This is the only letter extant of a large correspondence, which was undoubtedly carried on by Cicero with *P. Nigidius Figulus*; for he had an intimate friendship with him, and he is delivered down to us under the character of one of the greatest scholars of antiquity. He was a divine, a critic, a grammarian, and a philosopher. His works upon these several subjects are quoted by *Gellius*, *Macrobius*, *Arnobius*, and others; and the many wonderful stories of his foretelling future event are indisputable testimonies of his great reputation for astrology and divination. It would exceed the limits of a note to support these assertions with the proper authorities. I will content myself therefore with one single testimony from Cicero himself, and refer my reader for the rest to the several authors, from whence I have collected them. *Fuit enim, says Cicero, vir ille cum caeteris artibus,*

artibus, quae quidem dignae libero essent, ornatus omnibus; tum acer investigator et diligens earum rerum, quae a natura involutae videntur. Denique sic judico post illos nobiles Pythagoreos, quorum disciplina extincta est: quodammodo, cum aliquot secula in Italia Siciliaque viguissent; hunc extinguisse, qui illam renovaret. De universit. c. 1. tom. 3. p. 441. Edit. Olivet. He had been a follower of Pompey in the civil wars between him and Caesar, and when this letter was written to him A. U. 707, he was in exil. Gell. x. 11. 19, 14. Macrob. 3. 4. Plin. 26. c. 4, 6. Dio lib. 45. Janus Rutgerfius hath collected all the fragments, which remain, of the works of Nigidius. Var. Lect. 3. 16.

In quo debet esse.] Read *in quo debeat esse*. It is thus in one of Graevius's MSS. and also a little below, instead of *pari fortuna abiectus*, read *pari fortuna adfectus*. Gronovius hath observed that to be, not only the reading of the MSS, but very familiar to Cicero,

² *Te socio.]* Nigidius was one of the persons employed in examining and interrogating the discoverers of the Catilinarian conspiracy. And Plutarch tells us, that Cicero was persuaded to hasten the punishment of the conspirators, by his wife Terentia, his brother Quintus, and by P. Nigidius, his philosophical friend and companion, and his chief counsellor in affairs of state. *In vit. Cic.* See also his Treatise, *Whether an old man ought to undertake the management of public affairs?*

³ *In istis molestiis — non diutius futurum: in iis autem — fortasse semper fore.]* In one MS. it is, *fortasse: non semper fore*. And if this should be thought the true reading, it contains much such another reflection as he makes in a letter to Atticus, about the shortness of Caesar's reign, x. 8. *Jam intelliges id regnum vix semestre esse posse; — corruiat iste necesse est aut per adversarios, aut ipse per se.* But, I think, it is better without *non*, and the meaning will then be, that Caesar will soon suffer him to return

return from exile, and put an end to the misfortunes, in which he was particularly involved by that means; but as to those in common with others, *the loss of power and dignity, and the depending upon the will of one person*; they might, for all that he knew, be perpetual and lasting.

EPIST. XXVII.

BINAS a te accepti literas Corcyrae.] Cn. Plancius, to whom this letter is written, was a faithful and intimate friend of Cicero; and the only magistrate which shewed him any particular civilities in his banishment; for he afforded him a hospitable entertainment in Macedonia, where he then was in the quality of Quaestor to L. Apuleius. Cicero had an opportunity of making some return; for, being accused of bribery and corruption in obtaining the Aedileship, he was defended by him, in an oration, which is still extant amongst his other works. When this letter was written to him, in the beginning of the year U.C. 707, he was in exile at Corcyra, where many of the followers of Pompey fled after the battel of Pharsalia. Caesar was at the same time in Africa, subduing the remains of that party, which were supported by Juba.

^a *Quae exissem.*] This relates to the divorce of Terentia, and the marriage of Cicero with his second wife. For Cicero's affairs were so embarrassed by the mismanagement of Terentia, in his absence, and her temper was become so intolerable, that it was impossible for him to extricate the one, or cure himself of the other but by a legal separation; and soon after he married another, whose name was Publilia, *of an age disproportionate to his own, but very rich and well allied; circumstances very convenient to him at that time.* Quintilian hath preserved a smart saying of Cicero's upon this occasion: *Cicero ob-*
junt

jurgantibus, quod sexagenarius Publiliam virginem duxisset: cras mulier erit, inquit. 6. 3. Life of Cicero. v. 2. 146. ad Attic. 32. 12.

³ *In bello.*] The war in Africa, which at this time was very doubtful, and held the whole empire in suspense, Moderate men were apprehensive of very bad consequences, which ever side got the better. The Pompeians professed to imitate Sylla, and talked of nothing but proscriptions. And tho' Caesar was more mild and merciful; yet the necessities of war would force him to use much violence, and his victory would certainly end in slavery.

⁴ *Haec me tum vidisse.*] Concerning Cicero's political divination, see Epist. ad Attic. x. 4, 8.

⁵ *Nihilo meliores res domesticas.*] See Epist. ad Attic. xi. 3. and Mr. Mongault's Remarks. Life of Cicero, 148, v. 2.

⁶ *Nam alteros.*] Caesar's party are reconciled to you; and by your attachment and service to the other you have never offended them.

EPIST. XXVIII.

¹ *ACCEPTI perbreves tuas literas.*] This letter is an answer to one from Plancius, in which he seems to have expressed an apprehension of some particular danger, which threatned himself. Cicero assures him, that though they were all in a bad condition, yet he might depend upon it, that he was not in a worse than the rest.

EPIST.

THE
REMARKS
UPON THE
FIFTH BOOK.

EPIST. I.

SI VALES, bene est.] Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer, who had been praetor the year that Cicero was consul, and had now the command of Cisalpine Gaul, complains in this letter of the barbarous and severe treatment, which his brother Q. Metellus Nepos the tribun had received both from Cicero and the senate; for in the beginning of the year U. C. 691, he and J. Caesar, who was at that time praetor, pursued such violent measures, as provoked the senate to come to the vigorous resolution of suspending them from the execution of their offices. Caesar prudently submitted; but Metellus fled away to Pompey, and sent such an account to his brother, as produced this peevish letter from him to Cicero. Sueton. Jul. 16. Plutarch. in Cicer. Life of Cicer. v. 1. 237.

Ludibrio laesum iri.] This most probably alludes to something which Cicero had said in the invective oration, which he spoke in the senate against Metellus, and afterwards published. It is mentioned in a letter to Atticus under the title of *Metellina*, and quoted by Quintilian under the character of an oration *contra concionem Metelli*, lib. ix. c. 3. p. 576. edit. Caper. ad Attic. i. 13. See also A. Gellius 18. 7.

Familiae nostrae dignitas.] That branch of the Caecilian family, which was distinguished by the cognomen Metellus,

Metellus, was one of the noblest families in Rome: *cum intra duodecim ferme annos Consules Metelli fuissent aut Censores aut triumpharint amplius duodecim.* Paterc. 2. xi.

¹ *Qui exercitui praesum, qui bellum gero.*] This is equivalent to the expression, *qui cum imperio sum*: the meaning of which see in Rem. 7. ep. 1. l. 1.

EPIST. II.

¹ *SI tu exercitusque valetis, bene est.*] This is Cicero's answer to the foregoing letter, and a noble example of the freedom and openness of heart, which a consciousness of integrity always inspires; and of the humanity and tenderness, with which one ought always to treat an angry and peevish friend.

² *Praetermississe provinciam.*] The senate appointed Macedonia and Cisalpine Gaul to be the consular provinces. Macedonia fell to Cicero's lot, but that being a more desirable command than the other, he exchanged it with his colleague Antonius, in order to secure him to the interests of the republic, and afterwards resigned Gaul in favour of Metellus the praetor. Sall. Catilin. c. 26.

³ *Ea praescriptione est.*] The decree, by which the province of Gaul was allotted to Metellus, was drawn up in such a manner and conceived in such words as very much redounded to his honour, and was a lasting testimony of the esteem which Cicero had for him: for it was probably drawn up by him; it being the custom for the first mover of a question, or the principal speaker in favour of it, to conclude his speech, in the form of such a decree, as he desired to have passed. We have several examples of this in the Philippic orations of Cicero, and in a letter of Coelius, l. 8. 8. See Middleton on the Roman Senate, p. 159.

⁴ *Cum Claudia.*] The sister of P. Clodius, and the same woman that Cicero treats so roughly in his oration for Caelius;

Caelius; she was of an infamous character, and suspected afterwards of committing incest with her brother, and poisoning her husband. Mucia was the wife of Pompey, debauched by Caesar, and divorced from her husband upon that account, when he returned from the Mithridatic war. Lib. i. 12. Attic. i. 12.

⁵ *Concionis habendae potestate privavit.*] It was the custom for the consuls, at the end of their magistracy, to make an oration in an assembly of the people, and to take an oath, *that they had discharged their office with fidelity.* Plutarch mentions this fact, but with his usual inaccuracy. For he says, that Cicero was prevented from speaking by two of the tribuns, Bestia and Metellus; though it is certain, that Bestia was Tribune the year before. It is said, that the injury which was done Cicero, was such a one as was never done to the most wicked citizen *in aliquo magistratu.* This is the reading of Dr. Mead's MS. as well as of most of the others; But it cannot be the true one. It ought, I think, to be read *in ullo alio magistratu*; for the sense requires it, and the alteration is very natural. There is indeed a conjecture grounded upon a reading in the Medicean MS. which hath been approved by Graevius and Gronovius, and deserves to be mentioned. In that MS. the reading is: *in animo magistratu*, it hath been thought therefore, that Cicero wrote *in minimo magistratu*, in opposition to *consulem*; for Salust calls the consulship the *maximum magistratum.* *Ea potestas*, says he, *more Romano*, magistratui maximo permittit exercitum parare, &c. Bel. Cat. 30.

⁶ *Sic cum eo de republica disputavi.*] At this time he most probably spoke the oration, which I have mentioned in the Remarks upon the first letter of this book.

⁷ *Ut senatus consulto.*] Manutius supposes, that this relates to the repeal of the decree of the senate, by which Caesar and Metellus were suspended from their office.

And

And it may probably be true ; but Plutarch and Suetonius only mention the restoration of Caesar.

EPIST. III.

LITERAE 2. *Fratris.*] 2. Metellus, whose behaviour in the tribunship had been the occasion of the two foregoing letters, was consul A. U. 696, with P. Cornel. Lentulus. Cicero was at that time in banishment, and wrote this letter to him in order to secure him to his interest, and to prevail upon him to join with Lentulus in repealing the law by which he was banished. Ep. ad Attic. l. 3. 22, 23, 24. Life of Cic. v. i. 415.

² *Ut tibi literis obstreperem.*] Thus Livy 3. 49. *in concionem Appius ascendit : sequuntur Horatius Valeriusque : eos concio audit : decemviro obstrepitur.*

³ *Mitissimam tuam orationem.*] I believe Cicero alludes to the behavior of Metellus, when Lentulus, immediately after his inauguration, moved to have Cicero recalled from banishment. For he then declared, that he would sacrifice his own resentment to the voice of the senate. But hear what Cicero says in another place. Pro Sex. 32. *Quae etiam collegae ejus moderatio ? qui cum inimicitias sibi mecum ex reipublicae dissensione susceptas esse dixisset, eas se patribus C. dixit et reipublicae permissurum.* This letter therefore was written in the beginning of the year U. C. 696.

⁴ *Tuas inimicitias.*] Manutius is mistaken in supposing this to relate to any other quarrels, except those which had been between Cicero and Metellus. For Metellus had given up them to the republic : *dixit se reipublicae permissurum.* And Cicero considers their reconciliation in the same light in another place. In Pison. c. 15. the expression, *donare inimicitias reipublicae*, is very eloquent, and something like another in Lucan, ix. 144. *Superis haec crimina dono.* See Gronov. observ. 3. 23. Dracken. ad Sil. Ital. 16. 603.

EPIST.

EPIST. IV.

HOMINIS importunissimi.] Q. Metellus Nepos, to whom the foregoing letter was written, had the government of Spain, at the expiration of his consulship. It is most probable, therefore, that this letter was sent from thence, and I think in the first year of his government A. U. 697; for he seems to have written it with an intention of freeing himself from any suspicion of being concerned in the tumults, which Clodius was raising in his Ædileship. Plut. in Caesar. Dio 39.

² *Bis eum servavi.]* It is not known to what particular acts of friendship Metellus alludes.

EPIST. V.

C. Antonio Imper.] This letter is written to C. Antonius, who was Cicero's colleague in the consulship A. U. 609, and now governor of the province of Macedonia. Manutius is puzzled to find out some military success, in order to account for his having the title of *Emperor*; but a passage in Julius Obsequens clears the whole affair. For he informs us, that Antonius was saluted *Emperor* in the field, after the defeat of *Catiline*, and that he did not return to the city, because he would have lost his title by that means; but immediately went with his imperatorial *fascies* into his province. The time of writing it seems to have been A. U. 691; for it recommends Atticus upon his departure from Rome: but Atticus had been with C. Antonius some time before this year expired, as appears from a letter of Cicero to him, dated the first of January in the following year. Jul. Obse. in prodig. anni 692. Ep. ad Attic. lib. i. ep. 12.

² *Esse aliquid abs te profectum.]* This is well explained by a passage in the above cited letter to Atticus: *Liberum ego habeo, sane nequam hominem, Hilarum dico, ratio-*

cinatorem et clientem tuum. De eo mihi Valerius interpres nuntiat, Chiliusque se audisse scribit haec; esse hominem cum Antonio; Antonium porro in cogendis pecuniis dictitare partem mihi quaeri et a me custodem communis quaestus libertum esse missum. Non sum mediocriter commotus.

³ *Quod aiunt falso in me solere conferri.] For I dare not say comperisse me, lest I should make use of that very word, which it is reported you have often objected to me without any foundation. For, conferre rem in aliquem signifies the same as to object a thing to a person, to blame him for it. Thus Cicero, Ep. 10. 3. Si essem ea perfidia, qua sunt ii, qui in nos haec conferunt. C. Antonius and others had often complained of Cicero's arrogating too much to himself in detecting the conspiracy of Catiline, and robbing them of their share of glory and reputation in that affair. Cicero alludes to it in a letter to Atticus, 14. 1. Clodius conciones miseras habebat, in quibus Lucillum, Hortensium, &c. contumeliose laedebat; me tantum comperisse omnia criminabatur. And the author of the invective against Cicero, which goes under the name of Sallust, hath not forgot to ridicule him upon account of his frequent use of that word: Qui vero nihil poterat, is erat calumniae proximus. Is aut domum tuam oppugnatum venerat; aut insidias senatui fecerat; denique de eo tibi compertum erat. c. 62. edit. Wasse.*

⁴ *Quae ego si non persuadere.] Cicero alludes here to Pompey's intention of using all his interest to recall C. Antonius home from his province. And though he promises in this letter to oppose this motion, and to do all he can to serve him, yet he tells Atticus, that he thought it inconsistent with his character to have any thing to do with it. Ep. 12. l. 1. But it appears from the conclusion of the following letter to Sextius, that he interested himself greatly in his favour.*

EPIST.

EPIST. VI.

¹ *CUM ad me Decius.*] P. Sextius, or Sestius, was quaestor in Macedonia, at the same time, that C. Antonius was governor of that province. This letter was written to him in the year U. C. 692; for Q. Fufius was one of the tribuns at the time of writing it. But it appears from Dio and Cicero himself, that he was tribun that year. This Sextus is the same person, that Cicero defended some years after in an excellent oration, that is still extant amongst his other works. Dio. Cas. 38. ad Attic. i. 16.

² *Non satis credidi homini prudenti.*] Dr. Mead's MS. reads *prudenti*. Sextius had most probably in these former letters, to which Cicero refers, declared his inclination of returning home, and not continuing in Macedonia.

³ *Crasso domum emissam.*] This house, which Cicero bought of M. Crassus, was one of the noblest in Rome. It was built by Livius Drusus, whose answer to the architect, when he told him, that he could build it in such a manner, that no one should inspect or overlook him, was truly Roman: *Tu vero, inquit, si quid in te artis est, ita compone domum meam, ut quicquid agam ab omnibus perspicere possit.* Vell. 2. 14. Life of Cicer. v. 1. 258.

⁴ xxxv.] That is, *trices quinquies centum millia sester-tiorum nummorum*; or *thirty five hundred thousand sester-tii*, which is almost twenty eight thousand pounds of our money. We may observe here, that agreeably to the general practice of the Romans, the sum of money, which Cicero gave for this house, is expressed very elliptically; nothing is mentioned but the numeral adverb: *trices quinquies*. But we are taught by those persons, who have diligently enquired into this subject, that whenever that is made use of alone, *centum millia* or a *hundred thousand* is understood. *Sestertius* indeed is generally expressed,

and therefore it hath been thought to have been omitted here through negligence and inattention. But that supposition is unnecessary ; for there are instances, where it hath been designedly omitted. Thus L. 82. pr. D. de legatis 2. *Debitor decem legavit creditori, quae ei post annum sub pignore debebat ; non, ut quidam putant, medii temporis tantum commodum ex testamento debetur, sed tota decem peti possunt.* For *decem* stands in this place for *decem-millia-sestertiorum-nummorum* or *assium*. *Nummorum* or *assium* is added to *sestertiorum* ; because *sestertius* is not, as it is commonly understood, the name of a particular coin, but a numeral adjective, and used instead of *semisestertius* as, or two whole asses with the half of a third ; in the same manner as in Herodotus ἥξδομον ἡμιτάλαντον is used for six whole talents and a half of the seventh. *Nostri*, says Vitruvius, *quartam denarii partem, quod efficiebatur ex duobus assibus et tertio semisse, sestertium nominaverunt.* Lib. III. I. Herodot. l. I. Taylor. comment. ad Marmor. Sanduicense, p. 31. et loca ibi cit.

⁵ *Qui ex obsidione foeneratores exemerit.] Eximere ex aliqua re* is a frequent expression in Cicero ; thus ; *quod si exemeris ex natura rerum benevolentiae vinctiorem ; nec domus illa, nec urbs, stare poterit.* De Amicit. 7. The persons concerned in Catiline's conspiracy, and almost all the turbulent citizens at that time, were men of desperate fortunes, and loaded with prodigious debts. They wanted therefore to fling the state into confusion, in order to destroy the public registers, and to wipe off all their debts by one general sponge. But Cicero knowing how much the public credit would suffer by this means, and how many innocent people would be injured, opposed the whole weight and interest of his consulship to it, and delivered the *creditors* from all apprehensions of that kind. Ad Q. Frat. ep. 1. 1.

Omnino

⁶ *Omnino semissibus.*] Dr. Mead's MS. reads *omni semissibus*, and one belonging to Graevius *omnino*; which is the true reading. There is therefore no occasion of admitting the conjecture of Gronovius, who thinks, that it ought to be *bonis semissibus*. The meaning however is plain, that there was money enough to be had *semissibus usuris*; that is, according to our manner of expressing it, at *six per Cent.* For the Romans divided the *sors* or the *principal money*, which was borrowed, into so many hundred *denarii* as were contained in the whole, and calculated their interest agreeably to that division. Thus if a man borrowed a *hundred denarii*, and paid every month for the use of it *one denarius*, he was said to have borrowed money *usura centesima*; because the interest, which was due, was a hundredth part of the principal sum. Again, if he borrowed the same sum upon the conditions of paying every month *half a denarius* for the use of it, he was then said to have borrowed it *usura semissi*; because the interest, which was due every month, was but half of a hundredth part of the principal sum. The annual product in the former case was, twelve denarii for every hundred; in the latter only six. In this manner are to be understood the *usurae deunces, sextantes, dodrantes, beses, septunces, quincunces, trientes, quadrantes, sextantes, unciae*, which are all frequently to be met with in the Roman laws and ancient inscriptions; and therefore worth the attention of every classical reader. Gruter. p. CLXXV. 4. and CCXV. 2. Salmaf. de mod. usur. c. 7. 281. Heineccii Antiqu. Rom. lib. 3. tit. xv.

⁷ *Bonum nomen.*] That is, *of good credit, and to be trusted.* Thus in a letter to Atticus, 5. 21. *nam aut bono nomine centesimis contentus erat, aut non bono quaternas centesimas sperabat.* And Seneca calls those who were of bad credit, and slow in their payments, *lenta nomina.* De Benef. 5. 2.

EPIST. VII.

¹ *NON oblivione.*] Sigonius and Manutius have both endeavoured to determine the date of this letter, but have greatly disagreed in their opinions. The former places it in the year U. C. 700, during the long *interregnum*, which happened at that time; and supposes it to have been written to the same person, to whom the foregoing letter was written. The latter is of opinion, that it was not written till the year U. C. 707, when Caesar and M. Lepidus were consuls; and consequently, that it was written to a different person from the other. It is not easy to determine, which of them is in the right; but this however may be observed, that Manutius's argument, which is drawn from the different inscription of the letter, is of no weight at all. For it is well known, that the MSS. are not to be depended on in that point, Dr. Mead's MS, even in the inscription to this very letter, has not preserved the word *Sextius*; for it reads *M. T. C. Publio Servio S. D.*

² *Quod priora tempora.*] This may relate either to the civil wars between J. Caesar and Pompey, as Manutius supposes; or to the disturbances in the state, which were raised by Clodius, and ended in the banishment of Cicero.

Posteriora autem tempora.] If one could find out, to what misfortunes in the life of Sextius this related, it would enable us to determine the date of the letter. It appears from a letter of Cicero's to Quintus, that P. Sextius was indicted of bribery by Nerijs, and of public violence by M. Tullius Albinovanus, A. U. 697. Ep. 3. 2. and we know what was the event of the latter accusation; for, having been defended by Cicero in an oration, which is still extant, he was acquitted by the votes of all the judges. But it is uncertain what was the event of the other; whether it was carried on, or dropt; or whether he

he was acquitted, or condemned. If he was condemned, it is not unlikely but Cicero may allude to that in this part of his letter. But be this as it will, it plainly appears from Appian, that a person of this name was condemned of bribery, before the civil wars between Caesar and Pompey; and consequently we have no occasion to suppose with Manutius, that *posteriora tempora* relates to any time after the beginning of those wars. Appian. de bell. civ. l. 2. p. 442. edit. Hen. Steph.

³ *In invidiam absens.*] I know of nothing else to which this can be referred, but what happened A. U. 694. when P. Sextius was quaestor to C. Antonius, in Macedonia. For C. Antonius was accused of male-administration in the government of his province, and defended by Cicero. And at the same time it is probable, that some aspersions were flung out upon the character of his quaestor, who could scarce avoid being either a sharer in his guilt, or at least in the envy, which he incurred upon account of the iniquity and injustice of some of his orders and decrees.

⁴ *Recenti adventu meo.*] What is mentioned two lines below, seems to fix this to Cicero's return from banishment; for he takes notice of the scarcity of corn, which happened at that time, and which gave occasion to Clodius to renew his clamors and tumults, and to keep up that spirit of opposition to Cicero and his friends, which afterwards involved many of them in the ruin of their fortunes. Life of Cicero, v. I. 405.

⁵ *Ea te republica carere.*] This I own is an expression, which Cicero frequently uses in the letters, which he wrote to his friends during the power and tyranny of Caesar, and a topic of consolation, which he often desires them to reflect upon, in their banishment. But he might also have used it with great propriety A. U. 700. when the opposite factions in the city prevented the choice of ma-

gistrates for near six months, and introduced abundance of confusion, Life of Cicero, v. i. 530.

EPIST. VIII.

¹ S. T. E. Q. V. B. E. E. V.] That is, *Si tu Exercitusque valetis bene est, ego valeo*. It appears from a letter of Pliny to Fabius Justus, that this was a common exordium to most of their letters amongst the ancient Romans. Ep. xi. lib. i. Tell me, says he, in the good old stile, if you are well, I am so, that will content me. "Cicero, upon the expiration of his consulship, took care to send a particular account of his whole administration to Pompey," who had just then gloriously put an end to the Piratic and Mithridatic wars, and was expected to return soon to Rome. He did this in order "to prevent any wrong impressions there from the calumnies of his enemies, and to draw from him some public declaration in praise of what he had been doing. But Pompey being informed by Metellus and Caesar of the ill humor, which was rising against Cicero at Rome, answered him with great coolness; and instead of paying him any compliment, took no notice at all of what had passed in the affair of Catiline. Upon which Cicero expostulates with him in this letter with some little resentment, yet so as not to irritate a man of the first authority in the republic, and to whom all parties were paying their court." The letter was therefore most probably written in the beginning of the year U.C. 691. Life of Cicer. v. i. 242.

² *Tuos veteres hostes.*] The commentators are mistaken in the explications, which they have given of *veteres hostes* and *novos amicos*. For we are not to understand in this place Lucullus, Crassus, and others of that party, but J. Caesar, Metellus the tribun, &c. Caesar had been a follower of Marius, and always on the side of the republican party.

party. On the contrary, Pompey always had united himself to the senate and aristocratical interest. But at this time Caesar, finding it impossible to outweigh the authority of the senate without the assistance of Pompey, began to make his court to him by all the arts of address and flattery, and succeeded so well, that by conferring extravagant honors upon him, he separated him from the senate, flung a load of envy upon him, which at last overpowered him, and opened a way to himself of obtaining the same honors, and increasing his own power. Dio. 36.

37.

³ *Quam meorum officiorum.*] Cicero knowing of what importance the friendship of Pompey was to himself and his party had always courted him. *Cujus*, says he in a letter to Lentulus, 9. lib. 1. *ego dignitatis ab adolescentia fautor, in praetura autem et in consulatu adjutor etiam extitissim.* For Cicero in his praetorship supported the *Manilian law*, which appointed Pompey to finish the Piratic and Mithridatic wars: and in his consulship opposed Rullus's Agrarian law, which was secretly levelled at Pompey, and likewise decreed him a public thanksgiving of ten days, which was longer than had ever been decreed to any other general. Orat. pro lege Manil. Contra Rull. 2. 18. De provinc. Consular. c. 11. ep. 4. lib. 3. ad Q. F. Life of Cicer. v. 1. 125. 153.

E P I S T. IX.

¹ *QUANTUM meum studium.*] This letter is written to M. Licinius Crassus, whom I have had occasion to mention already in these remarks p. 347. He had been consul with Cn. Pompey A. U. 698. and was at the time of writing this letter A. U. 699. in the province of Syria, and intended to carry on a war against the Parthians. The scheme, which he pursued, was generally condemned, and at the beginning of this year there had been a motion
made

made in the senate to revoke his commission. But Cicero vehemently opposed it, and overruled it by his weight and authority, and upon this occasion wrote him this friendly and affectionate letter. Dio. 39. p. 109. Plut. in Crass. Cicer. de Divin. i. 16. Life of Cicero. v. i. 478.

² *Sed multa varietate temporum interruptum.*] The interruptions which were given to the friendship of Cicero and Crassus upon every little change in their politics, gives us great reason to suspect, that they never cultivated it upon any other view than that of interest. Cicero on one hand in his oration for the Manilian law robbed Crassus of the glory of putting an end to the servile war; Crassus on the other accused Cicero of being the author and contriver of the report of his holding a correspondence with Catiline, and encouraging his conspiracy against the state. Cicero out of a regard to Pompey always treated Crassus with flight and contempt. And when he was one of the triumvirate, in an accidental debate in the senate his old resentment, which had been gathering for several years, burst out into a flame, and blew up their secret grudge into an open quarrel. But Crassus upon his departure from Rome, thinking it bad policy to leave so powerful an enemy as Cicero behind him, sued for a reconciliation, and succeeded by the interposition of Caesar and Pompey. The following passage in a letter to Atticus makes one doubt of the sincerity of it on Cicero's part: *Crassum quidem nostrum minore dignitate aiunt profectum paludatum, quam olim aequalem ejus L. Paulum, iterum consulem. O hominem nequam!* ep. 13. l. 4. Yet whether it was sincere or not, it is certain that Cicero served him effectually in the present affair. Cicer. pro leg. Manil. c. xi. Sallust. bel. Cat. 48. Epist. fam. 9. 9. Plut. in vit. Crass.

³ *Quo quidem ex tempore.*] That is from the time, *quando forum primum attigerim. Forum attingere, in forum venire, or in forum deduci,* are all equivalent expressions, and

and imply the same as *togam virilem sumere*. For when a young gentleman had finished the course of his puerile studies, and changed the habit of a boy for the *manly gown*, he was introduced into the forum with much solemnity, by which he was instructed to understand, that he was that day made a Roman citizen, and had a part allotted to him to act upon that grand stage, where not only the foundations of his own hopes and fortunes were laid, but the affairs of the whole Roman empire were transacted.

* *Hoc magis sum Publio deditus.*] Young Publius was in Caesar's army in Gaul, when his father set out upon the Parthian expedition. But Caesar soon sent him after him with a thousand choice auxiliaries. Though before he went into Asia, he made an excursion to Rome, where he was, when this letter was written. He had devoted himself early to the imitation of Cicero, who had conceived an intire regard and affection for him, and hath left an excellent character of him in his treatise *de claris oratoribus*, c. 81. *erat cum institutus optime, tum etiam perfecte planeque eruditus: ineratque ingenium satis acre, et orationis non inelegans copia: praeterea sine arrogantia gravis esse videbatur et sine nequitia verecundus*. He was a sharer with his father of the calamities of that unfortunate war, and chose to die by the sword of his armour bearer, rather than fall into the hands of his enemies. Dio. 38. Life of Cicer. v. i. 528. Gronovius, contrary to the authority of the MSS. and without any sufficient reason, thinks, that we ought to read this place in the following manner: *sed ut Marco benevolentiam impertio, sic magis sum Publio deditus*.

EPIST. X.

¹ *S. V. B. E. E. V.]* Publius Vatinius is delivered down to us under the character of a seditious, profligate and abandoned libertin. He had by the power of faction and intrigue wriggled himself into most of the high offices of the state; and been in a constant opposition to Cicero. But was reconciled to him by the earnest recommendation of Pompey and Caesar, and defended by him the year after he had been praetor. Caesar nominated him to be consul in the latter end of the year U. C. 706. with Q Fufius Calenus. This gave occasion to the following severe lines of Catullus;

Per consulatum pejerat Vatinius

Quid est, Catulle, quod moraris emori. Carm. 52.

He was afterwards sent into Illyricum, where he did great service to Caesar by reducing that province to his obedience, and raising the contributions, which had been imposed upon it. This letter was written by him from thence A. U. 708. to desire Cicero's assistance in procuring him a public thanksgiving, upon account of some advantage which he had acquired over the enemy, and upon which he had been saluted *Emperor* by his own soldiers. Senec. de consolat. ep. 17. Epist. ad Fam. 1. 9. Dio. 40. Life of Cicer. v. 1. 505.

² *Cliens advenit.] P. Vatiniim dignitati suae semper infestum duobus publicis judiciis tutatus est, ut sine ullo crimine levitatis, ita cum aliqua laude.* Valer. Max. lib. 4. c. 2. 4.

³ *Liberalitatem.] Generosity,* lib. 1. ep. 9.

⁴ *Quo exemplo.]* See rem. 3. ep. 3. lib. 3.

⁵ *Anagnostes.]* The grandeur of the Romans appeared in nothing more than in the number of their slaves. Amongst the several offices, in which they were employed, there were some, who were appointed to read to them

them at their meals, and at other times of the day, when they wanted that kind of amusement for themselves, or for their friends. These were called *Anagnostae* or *Lectores*, and are frequently mentioned by Cicero in his letters; and by other writers, ep. ad Attic. 1. 12. *Mehercule eram conturbator. Nam puer festivus, Anagnostes noster, Sositheus decesserat, meque plus, quam servi mors debere videbatur, commoverat.* See also Plin. ep. 3. 5. One of these had run away from Cicero, and it was reported, that he was amongst the Vardaei, a people of Dalmatia. Cellar. 2. c. 8. Pignor. de Serv. p. 218. The Dalmatians were not yet entirely reduced to obedience; which is the reason, why Vatinius adds this caution; *nisi si in Dalmatiam auferit.*

* *Ex castris Narona.* Narona a city of Dalmatia, and a Roman colony of some note. We learn this, and its situation, from the following passage of Pliny 3. c. 22. *Narona Colonia tertii conventus, a Salona LXXXII. M. P. adposita cognominis sui fluvio, a mari xx. M. passuum.*

EPIST. XI.

* *GRATA tibi mea officia non miror.*] The correspondence between Vatinius and Cicero is interrupted by the loss of some letters, which passed between them. This from Cicero is an answer to one from Vatinius, wherein he expressed his gratitude to Cicero for using his interest and authority in promoting the decree of the senate for the public thanksgiving, which he had petitioned, and was written most probably about the latter end of the year U. C. 708.

* *De Dionysio si me amat.*] See ep. 69. lib. 13.

EPIST. XII.

* *DE Catilio.*] Catilius had a command in the fleet during the civil wars, and afterwards turned pirate; but was taken prisoner by Vatinius; to whom both
Cicero

Cicero and Sex. Servilius applied in his favour. See Pigh. Annal. A. U. 702.

² *Simius, non semissis homo.*] This reading is supported by Dr. Mead's MS. which hath *Simius non semissit homo*. It signifies a contemptible fellow, *homo minumi pretii*. Persius hath an expression similar to it. 5.76.

Hic Dama est, non treffis agaso,

Vappa, et lippus et in tenui farragine mendax.

³ *Ætiones expostulant.*] This is the reading of Dr. Mead's MS. nor is there any necessity to introduce the alteration recommended by Graevius, who thinks, that Vatinius wrote *ætione postulant*. For *expostulare ætione* signifies to demand a permission of the praetor to bring an action against another, in the same manner as *dare ætione* signifies to give that permission or licence.

⁴ *Si Appii os haberem.*] Not Appius Claudius Pulcher, to whom the letters in the third book of this collection were sent, for he was dead before the time of writing this letter. But another who was governor of Illyricum A. U. 706. Pigh. Annal.

⁵ *De meis supplicationibus.*] Vatinius applied now for a second decree for a public thanksgiving upon account of his success in Dalmatia; and complains, that Caesar was not active enough in consulting his honour and reputation in this point.

⁶ *Ego post supplicationes.*] That is, after the news of the public thanksgiving, which had been decreed upon account of my first success in the other part of my province, I went into Dalmatia. For the *supplicationes*, said to have been already decreed to him, cannot be those, which he complains that Caesar was negligent in promoting; it being evident from the conclusion of the letter, that Caesar had not yet given his consent to them: *quare te rogo, si opus erit, ad Caesarem meam causam agas*. The not attending to this hath made the commentators suppose, that this was the beginning of a distinct letter.

EPIST.

EPIST. XIII.

¹ *CORAM me.*] This is the celebrated letter, which is so often alledged as a proof of Cicero's vanity and excessive love of praise; for the subject of it is, to press Lucceius, a man of eminent learning and abilities, to write the history of his transactions; that he might be able to enjoy some part of that glory in his life-time, which he was sure to reap from them after his death. It is justly allowed to be the most beautiful and elegant composition of the whole collection; and if it is a testimony of his vanity, it is also a testimony of his parts, politeness and elegance. It was written in the year U. C. 697. For Cicero mentions this very letter in a letter to Atticus, written about that time. Ep. 6. l. 4. Life of Cicero. v. i. 463.

² *Italicus belli et civilis.*] The *Italic war* is that, which the Roman Historians call by other names indifferently, either the *Social* or *Marsic war*. The occasion of it was this. The tribune Liv. Drusus promised the allies in Italy the freedom of the city; but he was assassinated in attempting to publish the law to confer it. They being disappointed therefore of obtaining it in a regular method, by the loss of their patron, entered into a terrible confederacy against the city, and were determined to extort it by violence. The war was carried on by an union of the principal towns in Italy, that were allied to the Roman name, and was upon that account called *bellum sociale* or *Italicum*. And it acquired the other name of *Marsicum* from the *Marsi*, a people of Italy, who first opened the rebellion, and chose new magistrates at Corfinium, in opposition to those at Rome. It began A. U. 663, and lasted above two years; Cicero himself was a volunteer in it, under the consul Cn. Pompeius, the father of Pompey the Great. Florus, lib. 3. 18. Strabo, lib. 5. Vell. Pat. 2.

15. Appian. de bell. civ. lib. 1. p. 371. Plut. in vit. Cic. v. 1. p. 17.

Civilis.] The *Bellum civile* alluded to here, is the civil war which was carried on between the opposite factions of Marius and Sylla. Florus gives this account of its beginning, *initium et causa belli inexplebilis honorum Marii fames*: and a little before elegantly describes the several stages through which it passed. Flor. 3. 21.

³ *Callisthenes Troicum bellum.*] A disciple of Aristotle, and recommended by him to Alexander the Great, upon whom he attended in his Eastern expedition; but he made himself disagreeable to him by his severity of life and morals, and at last died a martyr for it. He was the author of many historical pieces. Plutarch often refers to him, and particularly quotes his history of the Trojan war, in the Life of Camillus. There is in the King of France's library a manuscript history, of the exploits of Alexander, under his name; but Casaubon in a letter to Scaliger determines it to be spurious. Cicero hath left us his character as an Historian: *post ab Aristotele Callisthenes, comes Alexandri, scripsit historiam: et hic quidem rhetorico pene more.* De Orat. 2. 58. And Longinus hath censured him upon account of some of his expressions, which, he says, were *υχ υψηλὰ, ἀλλὰ μετεώρεα*, not sublime, but ridiculously pompous and magnificent. Sec. 3. See also Epist. ad Q. Fr. lib. 2. 13.

⁴ *Timaeus Pyrrhi.*] We must take care to distinguish Timaeus the historian from the Pythagorean philosopher of the same name. The former was a Sicilian, driven out of Sicily by Agathocles; a writer of several pieces of history, and remarkable for an uncommon severity in censuring the works of other writers. He acquired upon this account the name of *Ἐπιτιμαῖος* or the Censurer, and hath been treated with as much severity, and perhaps as little impartiality by those, who have written since him-

himself, as he treated those, who wrote before him. Polybius, Cornelius Nepos, Strabo, Clemens Alexandrinus, &c. allow him neither humanity, good nature, nor veracity. But Diodorus Siculus, though he critically confutes him in many places, speaks with more candor of him, and owns that he did not want exactness in chronology nor an extent of learning, which afforded an agreeable and instructive entertainment to his readers. And Cicero hath left such an advantageous character of him, that we have great reason to lament, that none of his writings have been delivered down to our own times. For after having mentioned most of the celebrated Greek historians, he concludes; *minimus natu horum omnium Timaeus, quantum autem judicare possum eruditissimus, et rerum copia et sententiarum varietate abundantissimus, et ipsa compositione verborum non impolitus, magnam eloquentiam ad scribendum attulit.* de Orat. 2. 73. The war, to which Cicero refers in this letter, was carried on against the Romans by Pyrrhus king of Epirus, in defence of the inhabitants of Tarentum. It was begun A. U. 471, and continued about seven years with various success; but much to the glory both of Pyrrhus and the Roman people. Polyb. l. 12. C. Nep. in vit. Alcibiad. Strab. l. 14. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. Plutar. in vit. Niciae et Pyrrhi. Diodor. Sic. l. 5. et 13. Liv. epit. l. XII. Longin. sec. 4. Vossius de Histor. Graec.

^s *Polybius Numantinum.*] A celebrated Greek historian, too well known to require much to be said of him. He was born about the year U. C. 548. and died about seventeen years before the birth of Cicero. He was ordered in the consulship of Q. Æmilius Paetus and M. Junius Brutus to reside in Rome with several more of his countrymen, who were suspected of having designs of raising disturbances at home in favor of the common liberty. During his continuance there, he contracted an intimate

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friend-

friendship with several of the Roman nobility ; particularly with C. Laelius and Scipio Africanus ; the latter of whom he attended in his wars in Africa. He wrote a universal history in forty books, which included fifty-three years from the beginning of the second Punic war to the destruction of Carthage. The five first books are preserved intire to us ; but there is nothing remaining but fragments of the others. I do not find that his history of the Numantine war is mentioned by any other writer but Cicero. He wrote it probably to compliment his friend Scipio, who was the principal hero in it, and judged to be the only person, that could put an end to it successfully. If any one shall think it worth his while to compare Livy with Polybius in the history of those times, wherein their writings coincide, it will be found, that the former hath not only borrowed from the latter, but in several places hath almost literally translated him. And though he may be justly blamed for not quoting his author, and acknowledging his obligations to him ; yet those passages, which are so often referred to as instances of his ingratitude, are not sufficient proofs of it. For when he calls him, l. 30. c. 45. *haudquaquam spernendus auctor*, or, l. 33. 10. *non incertus auctor*, he means there the same as if he had said *auctor gravissimus* or *certissimus*. Thus lib. iv. 20. *Jovem prope ipsum, cui vota erant, Romulumque intuens, haud spernendos falsi tituli testes*. For here he certainly means *testes fide dignissimos*. See Wasse apud Duker. in Praefat. Thucyd. Victor. var. lect. 21. 1. Voss. de Hist. Graec. i. c. 19. Crevieri praefat. in Liv. p. 23.

⁶ *Leges historiae negligas.*] What those are may be seen in Cicero, de Orat. lib. 2.

⁷ *Quam Herculem Xenophontium.*] Most of the MSS. as well as Dr. Mead's, have *a qua te affici* ; but *deslecti*, which is plainly read in some belonging to Graevius and Lambin, is undoubtedly the true reading. And the meaning of that, which

which Luceius had said in his preface, is this; *That he could no more be drawn aside from truth by interest and favour, than Hercules, mentioned by Xenophon, could be drawn aside from virtue by the inviting allurements of pleasure.* Xenoph. Mem. lib. 2. 1. Cicero de offic. lib. 1.

* *Modicum corpus.*] Graevius hath observed that *corpus* signifies in this place the same as *liber, volumen*. The Greeks also use *σῶμα* and *σώματιον* in the same sense. Thus Cicero ad Attic. vi. ep. 1. *Hoc tuum σῶμα curabo, ut habeas.*

° *In legendo scripto retinere possit.*] This place ought to be read in the following manner; *quae vehementer animos hominum in legendo retinere possit.* The MSS. differ much. Dr. Mead's hath the reading in the text. Others read; *in legendo te scripto retinere possit*: or *te scriptore retinere possit*. Graevius therefore thinks, that we ought to read; *in legendo te tenere possit*; or, *in legendo, te scriptore, tenere possit*. But I think that, which I have proposed is the truest; and most agreeable to the manner, in which Cicero expresses himself in other places. Thus in this very epistle; *cujus studium in legendo non erectum — retinetur*. *Scripto* was nothing else originally, but a marginal note of some Grammatical reader.

* *Apud Mantineam Epaminondas.*] Mantinea was a town in Arcadia, rendered famous by a battle fought there between the Lacedemonians and Thebans; in which the latter obtained the victory, though they lost their general Epaminondas. For he died of the wounds which he received in the battle. Cicero hath related his death more exactly in another place. de Fin. 1. 2. *Cum vicisset Lacedaemonios apud Mantineam, simulque ipse gravi vulnere exanimari se videret, ut primum despexit, quaesivit saluusne esset Clypeus? cum saluum esse flentes sui respondissent, rogavit, essentne fusi hostes? cumque id quoque, ut cupiebat, audisset, evelli jussit eam, qua transfixus erat, hastam. Ita, multo san-*

guine profuso, in laetitia et in victoria mortuus est. See also C. Nepos in vit. Epam.

² *Themistoclis fuga redituque.*] This whole sentence relating to Themistocles is omitted in Dr. Mead's MS. but it is in all the other MSS. There is however an error in the word *redituque*. For all the historians agree, that Themistocles never returned from banishment. But it is not easy to determine, whether it is owing to the forgetfulness of Cicero, or the negligence of those, who transcribed the copies which have been delivered down to us. If the latter is judged to be most probable; we may read either *obituque* or *interituque*. For Themistocles, being ordered by Xerxes to prepare for an expedition against his native country, and not knowing how to decline the command upon account of the favours, which he had received, whilst he resided in Persia, is said to have poisoned himself with a large draught of Bull's blood: Plutar. in Themist. Thucyd. lib. i. ad init. Diodor. lib. ii. C. Nepos in vit. Themist.

³ *Ab Apelle potissimum pingi.*] Thus also Horace, ep. i. lib. 2.

*Edicto vetuit, nequis se, praeter Apellem
Pingeret, aut alius Lysippo duceret aera
Fortis Alexandri vultum simulantia. —*

Quam qui in eo genere laborarunt.] *Laborare in aliqua re,* or *in aliquo homine* signifies the same as *amare alicujus rei vel hominis teneri*. Thus Horace, lib. i. od. 17.

*Dices laborantes in uno
Penelopem, vitreamque Circem.*

Again, od. 27. 17.

————— *Ab Miser;*
Quanta laboras in Charybdi!
Digne puer meliore flamma.

The treatise of Xenophon, which is mentioned in this place,

place, is still extant amongst his works. And Plutarch informs us, *in vit. Agefila.* that Agefilaus would never suffer in his life-time, and prohibited by his will, any picture or sculpture to be made for him after his death. Apuleius thought he did it *diffidens formae suae*: he being, as Plutarch says, *μικρός καὶ τὴν ὄψιν εὐκαλαφρόνητος*, *very little and of a contemptible aspect.* See C. Nep. in vit. Agefila. Apuleii. apolog. p. 214.

⁴ *Multorum exemplo.*] M. Æmilius Scaurus wrote the history of his own life in three books; Sylla in twenty-two, which he called *commentaries*; and Q. Lutatius Catulus. Cicer. de clar. orat. 29. 35. Plut. in vit. Syll.

⁵ *Praecones ludorum gymnicorum.*] The *Praecones*, as Manutius hath rightly observed, are *the Poets*, who sung the praises of the conquering heroes at the olympic games, and contended also amongst themselves for the crown, which was sacred to poetry and the muses. The ceremony was this: he who was judged to be the best poet had the honour of crowning the hero, and of being crowned himself afterwards by some other poet. Plin. nat. his. 16. 4. Plutarch. de seips. laud.

Commentarios rerum omnium.] The meaning of *commentarii* in this place is most evidently *the materials for writing history.* Such as those, which Sylla is said to have written, and such as were written by Caesar, and are now extant under that title.

E P I S T. XIV.

¹ *QUANQUAM ipsa Consolatio.*] This letter is an answer to a letter of condolence, which he had received from Lucceius, upon account of the death of Tullia. It was therefore written in the beginning of the year U. C. 708.

² *Casus enim Gladiatorii.*] Lucceius's letter being lost, it is difficult to understand what it is, to which Cicero alludes.

ludes. Lucceius might possibly have put Cicero in mind, that he had no reason to despair, if he would but recollect the unexpected changes, which often happen in the course of affairs. He might bid him think of the gladiators, who sometimes in a surprising manner recover themselves and win the victory, though they had lost all hopes of it, both in their own and in the opinion of the spectators.

E P I S T. XV.

¹ *ROMAE quia postea non fuisti.*] Cicero being disconsolate upon the death of Tullia, and finding his residence at Rome more public, than he could well bear, retired to Astura, one of his seats near Antium, where he indulged his melancholy, and gave a free course to his grief. Lucceius therefore wrote this letter to expostulate with him for persevering to cherish so unmanly a grief, and not returning to Rome now Caesar was departed from thence. For *discesserat* is the true reading. Caesar was gone to Spain to prosecute the war against young Pompey, and to settle the peace of that province.

² *Consuetudinem.*] Gronovius hath observed, that *consuetudo* is used in this place in a double sense; that when it is referred to *communem nostrum*, it signifies the same as *convictum nostrum*, when it is referred to *tuam solius ac propriam* it signifies the same as *morem ac rationem vivendi*. But he is mistaken; for it hath in this place only the latter meaning. *I beseech you*, says Lucceius, *to return to our conversation, and to that particular way of life and to those studies, which are either common to us both, or in which you are used to be alone engaged.*

³ *Cupio non obtrudere te.*] The meaning is this: *I would not be troublesome to you in giving you my advice, and yet I would persuade you to lessen your grief, and to return amongst us. Let me intreat you therefore either to yield to my persuasions, or not to be offended with them.*

• *Aut*

* *Aut in altera non offendas.*] Manutius, and others after him, have supposed that *offendo* hath in this and other places a *passive* signification. But the instances which they produce, do not prove the point; and others evidently shew, that the construction is *active* in all. It signifies the same as *in aliqua re impingere*. And thus it is to be understood in the following passages, lib. ix. ad famil. ep. 2. *Quis est tam Lynceus, qui nihil offendant? nusquam incurrat?* pro Cluent. 36. *in eodem genere, in quo ipsi offendissent, alios reprehendissent.* Ovid. de Pont. 4. 14. 22.

————— *ad illas*
In quibus offendit naufraga puppis, aquas.

EPIST. XVI.

* *OMNIS amor.*] This letter is an answer to that, which precedes it, and explains the reason of Cicero's grief, and his motives for leaving the city.

* *Et eam unam causam.*] The death of Tullia.

* *Quod vinculum.*] Dr. Mead's MS. reads in this place; *quod vinculum quae res id est nostrae conjunctionis.* We ought to read therefore; *quod vinculum est nostrae conjunctionis.* For *id est quae res* is nothing else but a marginal explication of *quod*. Graevius is of opinion, upon the authority of one of his books, that it ought to be read; *quod vinculum quasi est nostrae conjunctionis.*

EPIST. XVII.

* *ETS I egomet.*] This letter is written to T. Fadius Gallus, who was quaestor to Cicero in his consulship, and afterwards one of the most active tribuns in recalling him from banishment. This appears from a letter to Atticus, written A. U. 695. for even at that time he was so solicitous to promote his restoration, that he had drawn up a decree in favour of it, which he intended to offer to the people, as soon as he should enter upon his office.

office. He was undoubtedly in exile, when this letter was written to him. But it is neither known upon what account he suffered, nor can we determine when it was.

EPIST. XVIII.

¹ *QUO modo potuiffem, te conveniffem.*] The commentators have thought it difficult to fix the date of this letter; but I think it may easily be determined. For the facts, which are alluded to, evidently prove that it was written A. U. 704; and it is certain, that Cicero was at Rome, when he wrote it. It must therefore have been written in the beginning of January. For he arrived at Rome from Cilicia on the fourth of that month, and departed from thence upon the eighteenth or nineteenth, and returned there no more that year. I cannot be mistaken in fixing his departure at that time; for he says himself, Ep. ad Attic. x. l. 9. that Atticus wrote him a letter, which was dated the 22^d of January, four days after his leaving Rome: *Haec scribis post diem quartum quam ab urbe discessimus.* Vid. Ep. fam. 16. 11. Life of Cic. 63. The occasion of writing it, is to justify his behaviour in some points, which had been complained of by L. Mescinius Rufus, his late quaestor: and as it refers to a letter of his, which is lost, and to private affairs, that particularly concerned themselves, it is the most difficult to be understood, of all the letters in the whole collection; and upon that account the most corrupt and imperfect.

² *In rationibus duntaxat referendis.*] As far as can be discovered of the affair alluded to here, from what Cicero says, it appears that Mescinius had complained to Cicero, of his making up his accounts, and depositing a copy of them in the treasury, without comparing them with his; that being contrary to the general practice of the governors of provinces, he had no reason to expect it from him,

as he was his quaestor. To this Cicero replies, that if the Julian law had not rendered it unnecessary, he would have complied with the custom; but that law requiring the governors of the provinces, and their officers, to deposit copies of their accounts in two principal cities belonging to their province; and they having by mutual consent done that already, he thought there was no necessity of comparing them again; and that it would be of no service to either, since they had no power of making alterations in them. *Concerning the Julian law, see Rem. Ep. 8. lib. 2.*

³ *Confectas et consolidatas deponeremus.*] Dr. Mead's MS. reads *consolidatas*; and *rationes* are said to be *consolidatae* or *solidatae*, when they are brought to an exact balance.

⁴ *Quamobrem de Volusio.*] "And as to what you say concerning Volusius, I am informed by understanding men, and particularly by *C. Camillus*, who is my intimate friend, and well skilled in affairs of this nature, that the debt cannot be transferred from *Valerius* to *Volusius*. Those that are bound for *Valerius* will still stand obliged to secure the payment; neither is the debt as you suppose 30000 sesterces, but 19000: for only that sum was assigned over to *Valerius*, and I have charged the remaining part to *Volusius* in our accounts." I believe I have fully expressed Cicero's meaning; and I take the case to be this: *Volusius* had farmed some part of the public revenues in *Cilicia*, but resigned his bargain to *Valerius* upon condition, that he should make up part of the deficiencies and arrears, which were due upon his account. *Rufus* in his letter, to which this is an answer, applied to Cicero to have the debt transferred back again to *Volusius*. Cicero replies, that it was neither possible to do that; nor, if it could, would that free *Volusius's* bondsmen from their part of the obligation.

⁵ *Non est id rationum.*] This affair is distinct from the comparing our accounts together; our comparing of them could have made no alteration in this.

⁶ *Neque id erat HSXXX.*] That is, about 242l. 1d. of our money; and 19000 sesterces is about 153l. of our money. The mark HS is only a corruption of another mark IIS or LLS; the meaning of which is either *duae asses* or *duae librae cum semisse*, that being the original weight of a *sestertius*. See Rem. 4. Epist. 6. h. 1.

Valerii mancipis.] *Manceps dicitur*, says Festus, *qui quid a populo emit conducitve*. Hence in ancient inscriptions we meet with the name very frequently. *Manceps monumenti*. Gruter. DCXIV. 10. *Mancipi viae Appiae* DCXXII. 2. and in another of a controversy between the *Mancipes* and *Mercatores*:

IMP CAESAR M AVRELIVS
ANTONINVS AVG
GERMANICVS SARMAT ET
IMP CAESAR L AVRELIVS
COMMODOVS AVG
GERMANICVS SARMATICO

HOS LIMIDES CONSTITVI IVSSERVNT
PROPTER CONTROVERSAS QVAE
INTER MERCATORES ET MANCIPES

ORTAE ERANT, &c. Gruter. CXCIX. 6.

See also Tacit. Annal 3. 31. et excurs. Lipsii in loc.

⁷ *Legatum meum praefectumque.*] These were the two persons who were bound for *Valerius*.

⁸ *Nam et Volusii.*] I think there hath been a change of the name in this place, and that we ought to read *Valerii*. For it was in favour of him that *Rufus* applied to *Cicero*, and it is a direct answer from *Cicero* to tell him, *that he himself had an intention to free Valerius*. But, if we knew the whole affair, it would perhaps be found, that the reading of the MSS. and Edit. is the true one.

⁹ *Et ut multa tam gravis.*] The MSS. are very corrupt. Dr. Meads hath *multi tam gravis* as well as several others, consulted by former editors. The alteration into *multa* is very natural, and makes good sense of the place; for *multa* signifies the security given to the public by a *manceps*, and those who were bound for him as well, as a pecuniary punishment. Thus Valerius Maximus iv. 4, 7. *Septem jugera agri possedit; ex hisque tria, quae pro amico ad aerarium obsignaverat, multae nomine amisit.* It may be doubted, whether we ought not to read *ipsique Valerio*, instead of *ipsique T. Mario*.

^{*} *Nam de Luceio.*] Rufus had deposited the public money in the temple of some god, to continue there till it could conveniently and securely be remitted to Rome. In the mean time Pompey had given orders to have it seized for his use; and Cicero, in delivering in his accounts to the treasury, had taken no notice, that it had been deposited by his order. Rufus therefore complained to him of this neglect, being afraid, that he himself should become responsible for it. To this Cicero replies, that he need not be under any concern about it; for, though he had not taken notice, that the money was deposited by his order, yet the letters which passed between them relating to it, the decree of the senate, and the public records were sufficient proofs, that it had been deposited for the use of the public, and consequently that he was no longer accountable for it. But though I have explained the affair without much difficulty, yet the text is still to be corrected. For *de Luceio* is undoubtedly an error. The MSS. read *Luceo*, *Lygeo*, *Lyceo*, and *Luceio*; and the commentators *legato*, or *Lucello*; but without any sense or meaning. The latter of these readings is rejected by *Gronovius*, but he hath not substituted any thing in its room. De Pecun. Veter. 3. 17. Whether I shall be more successful, I submit to the judgment of the Reader. It is well known, that Cicero hath
fre-

frequently made use of Greek words in his letters, and especially in those to Atticus; and that many corruptions in the text have arisen from an ignorance of that language in those, who transcribed them. And to this, if I mistake not, the present corrupt reading is owing. For Cicero probably wrote *nam de ἐκλογεῖον ἐστὶν ἰτα αἶτον*: hence arose *logeo*, *Luceio*, &c. in the MSS. *Ἐκλογεῖον* is explained in Suidas by the word *ἐκλογή*, a tax or tribute that hath been collected: and *ἐκλογεὺς* is also *exactor vectigalium*, or a collector of taxes; and *ἐκλεγεῖν τὰ τέλη* is used by *Demosthenes* for *vectigalia exigere*. Vid. Budd. Com. in l. Graec. This conjecture makes good sense of the place, and is supported by a passage below, relating to the same thing, where the MSS. are equally corrupt; and the Medicean MS. reads *cum de logeo parum gravissimum est*, which must be read: *si quid est quod de ἐκλογεῖον parum gratum visum est*: that is, *If there is any thing relating to the money which hath been raised in the province, that displeases you. Graevius restored gratum visum est*, instead of *gavissimum est*.

Nam de HS nongentis millibus.] About 7267 l. of our money.

Te certe in pecunia.] Graevius reads this place thus: *te certe in pecuniae exactu ista referre ex meis rationibus relatis non oportuit*. That is: *you ought not to transcribe my accounts, in order to deliver in your own.*

² *Quod scribis de beneficiis.*] It was a custom for the proconsuls, propretors and quaestors, to deliver into the treasury the names of the persons who had attended them into the province, and had gained their love and esteem by their behavior, whilst they were abroad. This was no immediate profit or advantage to them; but only a means of recommending them to the people, and of obtaining the high offices of the state. Thus *Archias* is said to have been recommended by *Lucullus*: *in beneficiis ad aerarium delatus*

est a Lucullo, praetore et consule. c. 5. And Cicero recommended several, which gave an occasion to Rufus to complain of him, for not letting him have an opportunity of making his court to them by registering their names *in beneficiis ad aerarium.*

³ *Reliquum est de Hs centum.*] About 800 l. of our money. By some mistake or other, Rufus had been obliged to pay this sum to the public, though it was not due; and as they could not alter their accounts, Cicero had given him some encouragement, that he would make up that loss to him; but tells him now, that in the present situation of affairs and under his own losses, it is not in his power to do it; nor does he think, that Mescinius would desire it. Pompey had seized upon Cicero's own money Hs XXII, or about 17600 pounds of our money.

EPIST. XIX.

¹ *ETSI mihi nunquam.*] Pompey having left Italy about the latter end of March A. U. 704, most of his friends were surprized and disappointed; and though many of them determined at once to follow his fortunes, yet others took time to deliberate. Cicero, as it might be expected, was in the number of the latter; and whilst he was in this unsettled state of mind, received a letter from his old questor Mescinius, to inform him, that he intended to follow his example, and conduct himself by his steps. Cicero therefore having at last resolved to go, where the cause of liberty and virtue called him, and to follow Pompey into Greece, wrote Mescinius this letter, to acquaint him with it; and though he says, *mibi consilium captum jamdiu est*, yet any one who reads the letters to Atticus, which were written about this time, will be apt to draw a different conclusion.

² *Quo liberius judicium.*] “Though whilst you were
“ with me in the province, you did every thing which
“ the

“ the strictest friendship did require ; yet that might be
 “ attributed to the duty and obligations of your office :
 “ but every thing which you do now, being uninfluenced
 “ by those motives, must be the result of real affection
 “ and esteem.”

³ *Quibus et expectatum meum adventum.*] Cicero's behavior at this time, and his keeping such a distance from Pompey, made many imagine, that he intended either to return back to Rome, and to assist in the councils of the senate, or else to stand neuter. A report of this had probably been raised, and given some hopes to Mescinius of seeing him. Life of Cic. v. 2. 90.

⁴ *Quid rectum sit.*] See the letter to Sulpicius. 2. lib. 4.

⁵ *Quare tu.*] Graevius reads two lines below, *nec continuo poterit* ; that is, *nec continuo poterit fieri, ut iter suscipias mecum.* Dr. Mead's MS. hath *poteris.*

EPIST. XX.

¹ *GRATAE mihi tuae literae.*] This letter was written about three years after that which precedes it, and not long before the conclusion of the African war, A. U. 707. when Caesar was a third time consul with Æmilius Lepidus. A passage in the letter determines the date of it to this time : *neque tamen ulla me res alia Romae tenet, nisi expectatio rerum Africanarum.*

² *Nam tecum esse.*] A form of asseveration, very frequently made use of by Cicero. Thus Catil. iv. 6. *Ita mihi salva republica vobiscum frui liceat, ut ego, &c.* The whole passage should be read as Graevius hath corrected it in the following manner : *nam tecum esse, ita mihi omnia quae opto, contingant, ut vehementer velim. Tu enim mecum cum esses, major erat et virorum, &c.* Dr. Mead's MS. reads : *ut enim cum esses, &c.*

³ *Quibuscum vivo necessario.*] The chiefs of Caesar's party courted Cicero very much at this time : *Balbus, Hirtius*

Hirtius, Oppius, Pansa, Dolabella, &c. professed a great esteem for him, and constantly frequented his levee; and he generally was engaged to sup with them. Lib. 9. Ep. 16. 17. Life of Cic. v. 2. 156.

* *Literulis nostris.*] Cicero wrote at this time, for the instruction of his son, his book of Oratorial Partitions, or the art of distributing the parts of an oration in the properest manner, to move and persuade an audience; and likewise his celebrated dialogue *De claris Oratoribus*, which is justly esteemed by every one, to be the most excellent piece of criticism upon the characters of men, and their writings, that ever was written; and is, as it is called by one of the best judges and finest writers amongst the moderns, *an Epitome, as it were, of the Roman history.* See Life of Cicero v. 2. 147.

† *Invidisset is.*] Pompey, who, notwithstanding his outward professions of friendship for Cicero, certainly betrayed him in several instances.

‡ *Qui vita ingenua.*] The reading in the text is in Dr. Mead's MS. as well as in several others, and requires no alteration. Graevius indeed recommends another reading: *qui in vita ingenua et in beata civitate viximus*, but without any necessity.

THE
REMARKS
UPON THE
SIXTH BOOK.

EPIST. I.

ETSI ea perturbatio.] A. Manlius Torquatus, to whom this letter is addressed, was a person, that had been long united in friendship with Cicero. He was an Epicurean, and brother to L. Torquatus, who bears so large a share in that piece of conversation, which is entitled *De Finibus bonorum et malorum*. We may judge of Cicero's obligations to him, from the genteel and polite compliment, which he makes him in that work: *Hercule mihi vir optimus nostrique amantissimus A. Torquatus versatur ante oculos, cujus quantum studium et quam insigne fuerit erga me temporibus illis, quae nota sunt omnibus, scire necesse est utrumque vestram.* lib. 2. c. 22. He had been praetor A. U. 701, refused to accept a foreign command, joined himself to the interest of Pompey, and was at the time when this and the following letters were written to him, A. U. 707, at Athens in exil.

Me enim is.] J. Caesar. He was in Spain opposing the attempts of Pompey's sons, who by the credit of their father's name were become masters of that province, and had gathered a powerful army out of the scattered troops which had fled from Africa. Life of Cic. 177. v. 1.

^a *Ut nihil in vita nobis praestandum*] Cicero hath this expression in another place, lib. ix. ep. 7. *video philosophis*
pla-

placuisse nihil esse sapientis praeſtare praeter culpam. The meaning is, *The uncertainty of human affairs is ſo great, that a good man can engage for nothing, but his own integrity.* It may be obſerved in Cicero's works, that a man is ſaid *praeſtare ſeipſum, alium hominem, or rem aliquam*, when he engages either for himſelf or for another perſon, or for the event of a thing. An inſtance of the laſt we have in the paſſage before us. Of the firſt; in a letter to Atticus, VI. 2. *nec ſatis eſt in ejuſmodi re, ſe quemque praeſtare.* And both of that and the ſecond, in the celebrated letter to *Quintus Cicero*, about the adminiſtration of his province: *His autem in rebus jam te uſus ipſe profeſſo erudit, nequaquam ſatis eſſe, ipſum haſce habere virtutes, ſed eſſe circumſpiciendum diligenter, ut in hac cuſtodia provinciae non te unum, ſed omnes miniſtros imperii tui ſociis—praeſtare videare.* Ep. I. c. 3.

³ *Conſilium improbavam.]* The deſign of leaving the city, and puſhing things to extremities with Caefar. Life of Cicero v. 2. 62.

⁴ *Ser. Sulpicium.]* He had the government of Achaia at this time. See Remarks upon I. Ep. lib. 4.

EPIST. II.

¹ *SUPERIORIBUS literis.]* This letter was written not many days after that, which precedes it. Upon this account therefore it was thought proper to change the ſituation, which it had in all the former editions.

² *Quem exitum acies habitura ſit.]* The ſtrength of Pompey's ſons made it doubtful; and though they were the remains of the republican party, yet their old friends had conceived ſuch an opinion of their cruelty and fierce-
neſs, that they all wiſhed for Caefar. *May I die,* ſays *Caffius* in a letter to *Cicero*, *if I am at all ſollicitous about the war in Spain, and I had rather keep our old and gentle*

master, than try a new and cruel one. Ep. lib. 12. See also letter to Atticus 12. 37.

³ *Aut eorum qui remanserint.*] These words are in none of the MSS. Dr. Mead's reads the passage thus: *quam quemvis eorum, aut qui discefferint, alteri dimicant, &c.* and all the others agree in this reading, except one or two, which omit *aut*. The editors have all determined, that something is wanting in the MSS. And the common Editions have compleated the sentence with *aut eorum qui remanserint*. But a natural and easy alteration of a few words in the reading of the MSS. will make every thing clear and plain, without so bold and licentious an addition, as that. Let it be read therefore in this manner: *Ego tibi hoc confirmo, etsi levis est consolatio ex miseriis aliorum, nihilo te majore in discrimine esse, quam quemvis eorum, aut qui discefferint, aut qui dimicant: utrique victorem timent.* The only alteration, which is here introduced, is of *alteri* in one place into *aut qui*; and in the other, into *utrique*.

Sed rursus γλαῦκ' εἰς Ἀθηνᾶς.] That is, *I am doing again, what I did before; advising a person, who is able to give advise himself. It is like sending noctuam Athenas, an owl to Athens.* For the Athenian coin having the figure of that bird impressed upon it, *the sending of owls to Athens*, where there was so great plenty of them, became a common proverb, to express any unnecessary buisness, in which a person was engaged.

EPIST. III.

¹ *NOVI, quod ad te scriberem, nihil erat.*] When this letter was written to Torquatus, there were great expectations at Rome, of having some decisive news with regard to the war in Spain: *nunc tantum videmur intelligere bellum non diuturnum fore.* Consequently there was

no great interval between the time of writing this and the foregoing letter.

² *Ego certo sciam.*] These words are not extant in any MS. for they all read: *non quo; sed quod difficilis erat conjectura.*

³ *Alteros propemodum.*] Caesar and his party had governed them long enough, to discover what kind of treatment, they might always expect from them; and every one foresaw, what the event would be, if young Pompey got the better. Since an angry and incensed conqueror is always to be dreaded.

Praesertim cum id sine ullo sensu futurum sit.] This passage hath been produced, with two others, by a very ingenious writer, to prove Cicero's disbelief of a future state. The other passages are, one out of the foregoing letter to Torquatus: *Et si non ero, sensu omnino careba.* And another out of a letter to Toranius, Ep. 21. h. 1. *Una ratio videtur, quicquid evenerit, ferre moderate: praesertim cum omnium rerum mors sit extremum.* And it is observed, that Cicero here speaks his real sentiments beyond all question, because in his letters he divests himself of all art and disguise. This may be granted: but a passage in a letter to Atticus may give room to suspect, that the others are not rightly understood. For he seems to speak there with some confidence of a future existence. After having told Atticus his opinion, that Caesar's reign could not be long, he goes on thus: *Corruat iste necesse est, aut per adversarios, aut ipse per se, qui quidem sibi est adversarius unus accerrimus. Id spero vivis nobis fore. Quanquam tempus est nos de illa perpetua jam, non de hac exigua vita cogitare.* Ep. 8. lib. x.

EPIST. IV.

¹*P*ETO a te.] When this letter was written, Torquatus was removed from Athens, and permitted by Caesar to come into Italy. For that must be the meaning of the following words: *nec eos, a quibus recipis, vereri debes*. And if he had not been in Italy, Cicero could not have had any intentions of meeting him, which he desires in the conclusion of the letter. And it is certain, that Torquatus was with Cicero some time in the month of June, A. U. 708. *Ἐνναίριος ad me venit, cum haberem Dolabellam, Torquatus*. Epist. 9. ad Attic. XIII. It may be supposed therefore, that this letter was written not long before that time.

²*M. Antonius*.] The grandfather of the triumvir, who lived in the time of the civil wars between Marius and Sylla, and foresaw by his political prudence all the calamities, which attended it. He was put to death by the order of Marius and Cinna, and his head placed upon the Rostra; upon those very Rostra, says Cicero, in quibus ille rempublicam constantissime consul defenderat; quaeque censor imperatoris manubiis ornarat, positum caput illud fuit, a quo erant multorum capita defensa. De Orat. l. 3. c. 3. Cicero, when he wrote this, little thought, that he should be treated in the same manner, by the grandson of this celebrated Patriot.

EPIST. V.

¹*C*UM esset mecum LARGUS.] A. Caecina, to whom the letter, under the present consideration, is addressed, appears to have been a person of great wit and learning, and would, in Seneca's opinion, have had high reputation at the Bar, nisi illum oppressisset umbra Ciceronis. He was an eminent friend of Cicero, engaged in the same studies,

dies, and embarked in the same cause. Whilst he was with Pompey, he wrote an Invektive or Satyr against Caesar, which made him afterwards more unwilling to pardon him, than several others; though at last he yielded to the powerful application of Caecina's friends. *Suetonius* mentions it as an instance of his great moderation and clemency: *A. Caecinae criminofissimo libro laceratam existimationem suam civili animo tulit.* He was now in Sicily, and Cicero acquaints him in this letter, which was written in the latter end of the year U.C. 707, that he had procured him a licence from Caesar's agents, to continue there as long as he should think proper. Caesar was set out for the war in Spain, at the time of writing it. *Senec. quaes. nat. 2. 56. Sueton. in Jul.*

² *Huic meae rogationi potius non continuo responderunt.]* This is the reading of the MSS; but there is evidently a mistake in it. *Graevius* supposes that we ought to read *protinus* instead of *potius*, and that *continuo* is only a marginal explication of *protinus*, which hath crept into the text. But *continuo* is in all the MSS, and *protinus* is a word which seems never to have required a marginal comment. It will be better therefore to retain *continuo*, and to read the whole passage thus: *huic meae rogationi pro te non continuo responderunt.*

³ *Asiaticae negotiationes.]* See Rem. 1. Ep. 5. l. iv.

⁴ *T. Furfanio Postumo.]* This person had the government of Sicily assigned to him for the following year U.C. 708. He was now at *Mutina* or *Modena*, a city in Cisalpine Gaul, and often mentioned in some future letters of this collection, upon account of *Decimus Brutus* being besieged in it by *Antony*. The letter of recommendation, which Cicero sent to *Furfanius*, is that, which immediately follows.

EPIST. VI.

¹ *TUERI, ut vides.*] The reading in the text is that of Dr. Mead's MS. Other books read: *ut des*, without any sense.

EPIST. VII.

¹ *QUOD tibi non tam celeriter.*] This letter is an answer to the other from *Cicero*, which immediately preceeds it. For in that *Cicero* advised him to put off his journey into *Asia*; and in this *Caecina* tells *Cicero*, that he intended to follow his advice: *de Asiatico itinere, quamquam summa necessitas premebat, ut imperasti, feci*. But the chief buisness of it is, to excuse the negligence of his son, in not shewing to *Cicero*, as soon as he ought, a panegyric, which he had lately written upon *Caesar*. For, having formerly offended by his wit and pen, he thought it would be the properest method of atonement, to make use of the same instruments, to procure his pardon and reconciliation, as had given occasion to that anger and resentment, which he had severely felt. He begs *Cicero* to read it over; and either to correct or suppress it, or do with it, whatever he shall think, will turn out most to his advantage.

² *Mendum scripturae litura tollatur.*] *Tollere* signifies the same as *delere*, *stylum vertere*, *recidere*, *deterere*. Thus *Cicero* in another place ad *Attic.* 13. 23: *tanta librariorum menda tolluntur*. And if the following passage in *Horace* be attentively considered, it will be found to be used in the same sense there. *Sat.* 4. 1. l. 11.

Cum flueret lutulentus, erat, quod tollere velles.

Quintilian, who understood *Horace* better than any modern commentator, undoubtedly understood it in this sense. For in speaking of the high value which some people set upon

upon Lucilius, he goes on : *Ego quantum ab illis, tantum ab Horatio dissentio, qui Lucilium fluere lutulentum et esse aliquid, quod tollere possis putat. Nam et eruditio in eo mira, et libertas, atque inde acerbitas et abunde salis. Lib. x. c. i.*

³ *Scripti de te.*] It was a difficult and nice subject to praise Cicero in such a manner, as not to give an offence to Caesar. For, to have been explicit and particular in the detail of the actions of the one, in the defence of liberty, would have been an open and severe invective against the actions of the other, in the destruction of it. It was therefore great prudence in Caecina, to be sparing upon that topic.

⁴ *Quem putas animum esse.*] A writer under these circumstances could never produce any thing great or noble. For the force of genius can never exert itself under the panick of a censure and the terrors of an inquisition. It appears from this place, that the Roman spirit soon began to feel the pernicious influence of arbitrary power. Three lines below we ought to read with Graevius : *age vero, laudo aliquem? non offendo. At potero offendere. Quid enim si non vult.*

⁵ *Auges etiam tu mihi timorem.*] He alludes here to Cicero's treatise *De claris Oratoribus*, in which many things are spoken with great freedom about the commonwealth, but generally under the character of *Brutus*, who is one of the principal speakers in that dialogue.

⁶ *Calumnia timoris.*] See Remark 3. Ep. i. l. i.

EPIST. VIII.

¹ *Quotiescunque filium tuum vides.*] This is an answer to the foregoing letter, and an assurance, that he will heartily endeavour to procure a pardon for him from Caesar.

² *Quam extra ordinem.*] The MSS. almost all agree to read this place, as it is printed in the text; but there is certainly an error in the word *virtutem*, which is repeated twice over. Graevius therefore hath changed the latter into *eruditionem*, and reads: *propter eximium ingenium summamque eruditionem.*

EPIST. IX.

¹ *VEREOR, ne desideres.*] There can be no doubt to any one, who reads these letters with any tolerable attention, that this is the latest of the whole correspondence, that is now extant between *Cicero* and *Caecina*. For *Cicero* mentions the book, which had been lately written by *Caecina*, in praise of *Caesar*, but not in the manner in which he would have done it, if it had been the first time of his mentioning it. He had answered *Caecina* upon that head in the foregoing letter, and here only makes use of a topic of consolation to his friend, which he borrows out of his own work, there being reason to think, that it would upon that account be more effectual.

² *Expulissent ii.*] This relates to the time of his own banishment, by the open attacks of *Clodius*, and secret connivance of *Pompey*, *Caesar*, and some other of his false friends.

³ *Etruscae disciplinae.*] That part of Italy which was called *Etruria*, was the parent of the art of divination; and the Romans borrowed the whole science from thence. Thus *Cicero*, de Div. 1. 2. *Omnem hanc ex Etruria scientiam adhibebant, ne genus esset ullum divinationis, quod neglectum ab iis videretur.*

⁴ *Ea me suasisse Pompeio.*] *Cicero* always recommended pacific measures; he was for having *Pompey* go to his government of *Spain*, and *Caesar* allowed to take the consulship, though he was absent.

⁶ *Ut in fabulis Amphiaræus.*] The story he alludes to is this: *Amphiaræus* by his wonderful knowledge of futurity foresaw, that it would be fatal to him to engage in an expedition against Thebes, and endeavoured to conceal himself; but his wife Eriphyle, the sister of Adrastus king of Argos, being prevailed upon by a present, discovered where he lay, and he was forced to accompany the heroes to the war, though he knew it would be unavoidably fatal to himself. It is said, that the earth, where he stood, was divided by a thunderbolt, and he and his chariot were swallowed up in the opening. Diodor. Sic. 4. 68. Strab. l. 9. p. 278.

⁷ *Non igitur ex alitis involatu.*] Cicero always uses the word *volatus* in his treatise on Divination; and Dr. Mead's MS, with three of Graevius's MSS, reads *ex alitis volatu*; but others *ex alitis in violatu*. Read therefore *ex alitum volatu*. Cicero alludes to three kinds of Divination in this place. The first from the flight of birds: such as eagles and vultures; which the Romans comprehended under the general name of *Praepetes*. The second from the singing or chattering of birds: such as crows, pies, &c. all which they called by another general name *oscines*. The third from the feeding of chicken: which was called either *tripudium solistimum*, or *sonivium*, if they eat their meat so greedily as to let some drop to the ground, and rebound back again with a sounding noise.

⁸ *Libro querelarum tuarum.*] Caecina entitled his book, which he wrote in compliment to Caesar, *querelae* or complaints.

EPIST. X.

¹ *ANTEA misissem.*] This letter in most of the MSS. and all the editions is placed after that, which follows it, and is joined to it. But it evidently appears to be a distinct letter from the other, and to have been written before

before it. There was therefore no reason, why it should not be removed from its old situation, and restored to the true one. It is addressed in the MSS. either to Trebatius or Trebianus; but both names are wrong. For Trebatius was always a friend to Caesar, and Trebianus is a name unknown in the history of Rome. It ought therefore most probably to be Trebanius. For though we know nothing particular of any person of that name; yet it is a name to be seen upon the Roman coins. There are four in Vailant with the name of L. Trebanius upon them. But be this as it will; it is clear from the letter, that the person to whom it was sent, was a follower of Pompey, and in banishment at the time, when it was written; which if we determine to be in the year U. C. 707, we shall not be much mistaken.

EPIST. XI.

* *Familiarissimi ejus casu devincti.*] *Casus* is the reading of Dr. Mead's MS. and many others. In the common editions it is, *quasi devincti*.

EPIST. XII.

* *DOLABELLAM antea tantummodo diligebam.*] Cicero acquaints Trebanius in this letter of his success in procuring a pardon for him, by the interest of his son-in-law Dolabella. From whom he had never before received any favor, though he owed him many; *Quod non defuerat ejus periculis.* The meaning of which we know from a passage in a letter to Appius relating to Dolabella; *illud mihi permirum accidit, tantam temeritatem fuisse in eo adolescente, cujus ego salutem duobus capitibus judiciis summa contentione defendi*, lib. 3. ep. x.

EPIST.

EPIST. XIII.

¹ *GRATULOR tibi, mi Balbe.*] This Titus Ampius is the same, that is mentioned in the third letter of the first book of this collection. He had been always a great friend of Pompey, and when he was tribun proposed a law, that he might, upon account of his victories in the Mithridatic war, wear a crown of gold and the habit of a general in triumph, whenever he came to the Circensian games. He was now in exile; but before Caesar went into Spain A. U. 707. his friends had procured him liberty to return to Rome: an account of which Cicero sends him in this letter. See rem. in 3: ep. l. 1. Vell. Pat. l. 2.

² *Quod si mihi per me efficiendum fuisset.*] The MSS. read *pro me* and *per me*. But the conjecture of Gronovius is certainly right, who reads; *quod si mihi pro te efficiendum fuisset*; that is, *if I had been obliged to have cultivated a friendship with them upon your account, I should not have declined it in these times. But I had no occasion to make any servile applications to them: they were all my old friends.*

³ *Cimber autem Tillius.*] Tillius Cimber (for so he is called by Plutarch, Appian, &c. and not Tullius) was a person much obliged to Caesar, and related to Ampius; but best known for being afterwards engaged in the conspiracy against Caesar upon the celebrated ides of March. Cicero takes notice of him in the second Philippic oration in the following manner: *an L. Tillius Cimber me est auctorem secutus? quem ego magis fecisse illam rem sum admiratus, quam facturum putavi. Admiratus autem ob eam causam, quod immemor beneficiorum, memor patriae fuisset.* c. xi.

⁴ *Tubam belli civilis.*] Thus Quintus Cicero is said by Corn. Balbus to have been *lituus professionis*, or the person, *qui avoit sonné la marche*, to his brother Marcus, when he set out to follow Pompey into Greece. Ep. 12. lib. xi. ad Attic.

⁵ *Gra-*

⁵ *Gravis homo et certus.*] That is, *fide dignus*, or one to be depended upon.

⁶ *Ea quae essent certa perscribi.*] The MSS. are all wrong: some such word as *oportere* is wanting. Read therefore *quare magnopere oportere putavi — pro certis ad te ea, quae essent certa, perscribi.*

⁷ *Tuos magistratus.*] He was one of the tribuns in Cicero's consulship, when the Catilinarian conspiracy broke out; and praetor A. U. 695, when Clodius was raising great disturbances in the state by his new laws, and the violence and tumult of his mobs.

EPIST. XIV.

¹ *ETS I tali tuo tempore.*] Q. Ligarius, to whom this and the following letters are addressed, is well known on account of the celebrated oration, which Cicero spoke in his defence, and is still extant amongst his other works. He went into Africa with Confidius in the quality of lieutenant, and was left by him with the supreme command, when he returned to Rome to sue for the consulship. In the mean time the war broke out; Ligarius joined himself to Attius Varus, and distinguished himself by his zeal for the liberty of his country. He was, when this letter was written, A. U. 707. in exil. And Cicero and his friends were soliciting a pardon for him with great earnestness. Life of Cicero. v. 2. 173.

² *Supplicare una cum fratribus tuis.*] Ligarius had two brothers, who had always been on Caesar's side. Cicero in his oration before Caesar made use of this as one reason, why he should pardon Ligarius. *Quid de fratribus dicam? noli Caesar, putare de unius capite nos agere. Aut tres tibi Ligarii in civitate sunt retinendi, aut tres ex civitate exterminandi. Quodvis exilium his est optatius, quam patria, quam domus, quam dii penates, uno illo exulante.* c. XI.

EPIST.

E P I S T. XV.

¹ *M*E scito omnem laborem.] Cicero goes on in this letter to give Ligarius a farther account of his application to Caesar in favor of him, and of his hopes of success. But notwithstanding he wrote with so much confidence, he met afterwards with an unexpected difficulty, which had like to have defeated all his endeavours, and would have been insuperable to any thing else, but the irresistible power of Cicero's eloquence. For Q. Tubero, an old enemy of Ligarius, knowing that Caesar was particularly exasperated against all those, who had obstinately renewed the war in Africa, accused Ligarius in form of being one of the chief promoters of it; and Caesar heard the accusation with pleasure, and determined to condemn him. But Cicero undertook his defence, and addressing himself to the passions and pride of Caesar, extorted a pardon from him by violence. Ligarius returned to Rome, and bore a part in the conspiracy against Caesar. Plut. in vit. Brut. Orat. pro Lig. Life of Cicer. v. 2. 176.

² *Cum ad. v. kal. intercalares priores.*] This is the only place in antiquity, where we meet with *kalendae intercalares priores*. There hath been some difficulty therefore in explaining the meaning of it. Scaliger and others after him have thought, that we ought to understand by it the first day of the intercalated month, which by the old institution of Numa, was to be inserted every second and fourth year between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of February, but he is mistaken. For first, that month was never called *intercalaris prior*, but simply *intercalaris*. Secondly, Caesar was not at Rome at that time, but carrying on the war in Africa. The time therefore referred to by Cicero was much later than the fifth of the kalends of that intercalated month. But it is well known, that Caesar reformed the Roman kalendar before he set out
for

for the war in Spain A. U. C. 707. and in order to restore the beginning of the year to its proper place, was obliged to insert sixty-seven days between November and December, which he divided into two months of thirty-three and thirty-four days each. The former of which was called *mensis intercalaris prior*, and the latter *mensis intercalaris posterior*. So that the fifth of the kalends of the *prior intercalated month*, on which day the friends of Ligarius offered their petition to Caesar, coincided with the twenty-sixth of November in that confused state of the Roman kalendar. Suetonius says, that this year consisted of fifteen months, because the ordinary intercalary month of twenty-three days fell into it of course, besides the two others inserted by Caesar; and Macrobius calls it *annus confusionis ultimus*, as well because it was confused and irregular itself, as because it put an end to the confusion of the old Roman year, and introduced that regular form, which is in use at this day. Sueton. J. Caes. 40. Macrobi. Sat. 1. 14. Scaliger. de Emend. temp. l. 2. c. x. Bibliotheca literaria. N VIII. Lond. 1724. 4^{to}. Life of Cicer. v. 2. 169.

EPIST. XVI.

¹ *TIBI gratulor.*] This *Basilus*, as it ought to be read, was *L. Minutius Basilus*, who was Caesar's lieutenant in Gaul, and afterwards one of the conspirators against him. Ep. ad. Attic. 11. 16.

EPIST. XVII.

¹ *SI mihi tecum.*] Bithynicus, the writer of this letter, is supposed to have been the son of Q. Pompeius Bithynicus, whose character we have in the treatise *de claris oratoribus*, c. 68.

EPIST.

EPIST. XVIII.

¹ *CUM caeterarum rerum causa.*] This is not an answer to the preceding letter from Bithynicus, but to one, that is not at present extant. In that Bithynicus had told Cicero, that if he ever lived to see the constitution restored, he would contrive to spend the remaining part of his life with him. To this Cicero answers, that, amongst the several reasons, which make him wish to see the constitution restored, his promise of living with him hath not the least weight. *Tum velim mihi credas accedere, id etiam quo magis expetam, promissum tuum, quo in literis uteris.* For this passage ought to be pointed in this manner, which frees the construction from all difficulty, and renders the alteration, made by Graevius, of *accedere* into *accidere* unnecessary. It is *accedere* in Dr. Mead's MS.

EPIST. XIX.

¹ *SIMUL accepi.*] Lepta, to whom this letter is inscribed, is most probably the same person, that was *praefectus fabrum* to Cicero when he was governor of the province of Cilicia. The office, which he then had, was to preside over the workmen that belonged to the army. For under the name of *fabri* were included all the mechanical trades. As, *Fabri lignarii, ferrarii, tignarii, materiarii*, &c. they were incorporated into several companies, and instituted as early as Servius Tullius. For in the division of the people made by him we meet with two centuries of workmen. *Duae fabrum centuriae, quae sine armis stipendia facerent; datum munus ut machinas in bello ferrent.* Liv. i. 43. This letter was written to him in the beginning of the year U. C. 708. in answer to an enquiry, which he had made to Cicero, whether Caesar, in the law, which he intended to confirm after his return from Spain, excluded all those, who had born the office of a public crier,

as well as those, who were then criers, from being chosen *Decuriones* or *Senators* in the Municipal towns. Concerning *Decuriones* see rem. 1. ep. 68. l. XIII.

² *Codicillos.*] See rem. 6. ep. 19. l. IV.

³ *Cum qui hodie haruspicinam facerent.*] It would, says Cicero, have been intolerable to disqualify public criers for being senators in a municipal town, and admit an *aruspex* or soothsayer into the Roman senate. He alludes to Spurina a soothsayer, who had been lately preferred to a seat in the senate by Caesar. And this is not the only time, when he indulged his spleen upon this account. See life of Cicero, v. 2. p. 151. Note [m] Dio. XLIII. p. 227. Suet. c. 40. 76. in J. Caes.

⁴ *Illi undecim esse legiones.*] The writer of the history of the war in Spain, which goes under the name of Hirtius, mentions L. Julius Paciaecus as a person of great prudence, and employed by Caesar upon an expedition of importance. His account of young Pompey's army differs a little from the letter of Paciaecus. For he says that it consisted of thirteen legions. Either of these is a very powerful army. For in the time of Caesar a legion, if its numbers were compleat, contained, upon the most probable calculation, about six thousand foot and four hundred horse. Hirtius de bel. Hisp. c. 3. 7. Eutropi. lib. 2. c. 6.

⁵ *Oratorem meum.*] This work of Cicero hath the same title given to it here as that mentioned by Caecina, ep. 7. though they are distinct pieces. For this probably is the treatise, which is now extant amongst his rhetorical works under the title of *the Orator*. It contains a plan of what he thought the most perfect eloquence or manner of speaking. It appears from a passage in the second book upon divination, that Cicero gave it this title. For in reckoning up his *libri oratorii* he says; *ita tres erunt de oratore; quartus, Brutus; quintus, Orator.* c. 1.

⁶ *A Dolabellae procuratoribus.*] Dolabella was in Spain with Caesar: but it is not easy to determine, what this first payment related to, the receiving of which detained Cicero at Rome. If it was certain, that Tullia was divorced from Dolabella, it might be understood, as it hath been explained by all the commentators, to refer to the first payment of her fortune back again. For as upon a marriage the fortune of the wife used to be paid at three payments to the husband; so upon a divorce it used to be repaid in the same manner by the husband. But it does not appear, either from these letters or the letters to Atticus, that Tullia was ever divorced from Dolabella, though it was often thought of by Cicero. Her lying-in and dying at her husband's house; the friendship, which subsisted at that time between him and Cicero; and the unwillingness of both sides to make the proposal of a divorce first, gives some reason to suspect the contrary. And if that is the case, the payment mentioned in this letter must refer to some private business, which we are not able to discover. Plut. in Cic. Ep. ad Attic. xi. 23, 24, &c. Life of Cicero. v. 2. p. 178. Dr. Tunstall's Epistola ad V. E. Con. Middleton, p. 184.

⁷ *Aedificia mea me delectabant.*] Gronovius reads *delectant.*

⁸ *Ediscat Hesiodum.*] Cicero quotes only two or three words of this beautiful passage in Hesiod, the whole being well known to his correspondent. It is thus represented in Mr. Cooke's translation. *Works and days*, book 1. 37. in the original, l. 287.

*To wickedness the road is quickly found,
Short is the way, and on an easy ground.
The paths of virtue must be reached by toil,
Arduous and long, and on a rugged soil,
Thorny the gate, but when the top you gain
Fair is the future, and the prospect plain.*

EPIST. XX.

¹ *MACULAM officio functum.*] Pompeius Macula made Cicero an offer of lodging at a villa of his in Campania, when he intended to pay the compliment to Caesar of meeting him upon the road in his return from Spain.

² *Nec ea re Petrinum deferam.*] A villa at Petrinum in Campania, called by Horace *sinuessanum Petrinum*, ep. 15. l. 1.

³ *Munerum regionum.*] Caesar intended to exhibit public shews in several parts of the city after his return from Spain. For that is the meaning of *munera regionum*, as it is well explained by Corradus: for it signifies the same that *ludi regionatim* do in Suetonius, c. 39. In Jul. Lepta had applied to Cicero to procure him the management of them, but Cicero dissuades him from it. See Ep. ad Attic. 46. l. 13.

In quo sit species.] Though it is *spes* in Dr. Mead's MS. yet this reading of Victorius is most probably the right one. For *species* signifies *dignitas*, *honestas*, &c.

EPIST. XXI.

¹ *ETS I, cum haec ad te scribebam.*] Toranius, to whom this letter is addressed, is a person not much known in the histories of these times; he is probably the same, who was praetor A. U. 692, and was afterwards betrayed in an unnatural manner during the proscription of the triumvirate. For his own son discovered to the soldiers, who were in search after him, the place of his concealment, his age, and the marks by which he might be known. Which, when the good old man was acquainted with, he died, more afflicted at the baseness and ingratitude of the Informer, than at the loss of his own life. This letter was written to him almost four years before his death,

death, in the beginning of the year U. C. 707, whilst Caesar was engaged in the war in Africa, and he himself at Corcyra, a place, to which many of the followers of Pompey retreated after the battle of Pharsalia. It appears, that he was there, because Cicero says in the beginning of the next letter, that he had written to him by the servants of Cn. Plancius, who was undoubtedly there at that time. Epist. 27. lib. 4. Valer. Max. lib. ix. c. 11. Sueton. in Aug. 27. Appian. de B. C. iv.

Quae aut interitum.] Gronovius thinks, that we ought to read this sentence in the following manner: *quae aut interitum allatura esset, si vicisses; si victus esses, servitutem.* For nothing but proscriptions were talked of by Pompey's friends, if they conquered; and a loss of liberty was what each person might expect to be the consequence of a victory on the side of Caesar.

² *Domitii et Lentuli.*] L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and L. Cornelius Lentulus were two persons that could not bear to think of any reconciliation with Caesar, and were for pushing things to the extremities of war. Suetonius even observes of the former, that he was the only person who thought, that those who stood *neuter* ought to be looked upon as enemies. In Nero, c. 2: See rem. i. ep. ult. h. l.

EPIST. XXII.

¹ *DEDERAM triduo ante pueris.*] Toranius had a mind to remove from Corcyra, in order to be ready to form his resolutions agreeably to any sudden change, that might happen. Cicero dissuades him from it in this letter, and tells him, that in his opinion, he could not make choice of a more convenient situation, than the present.

² *Cur adventibus.*] *Adventibus* is a reading, that is recommended by Victorius, and is explained by Graevius to signify *adventibus illorum, qui Caesaris partes sequuntur.*

There is no reason, says he, for you to desire to be in those places, where you cannot avoid meeting with many of the friends of Caesar. This reading and interpretation may be admitted : but it is more likely that there is some error : for some of the MSS. read ; *advenientibus*. And Toranius did not want to be in such a place, where he might meet the friends of Caesar, but where he might have an opportunity of offering himself to Caesar immediately upon his return from Africa. It will not therefore be thought improbable perhaps, that Cicero wrote ; *nihil est cur adventui ejus te offerre gestias*. This conjecture is confirmed by what Cicero says a few lines below ; *quod si recipiet ille se, ad tempus aderit*.

³ *Quod si recipiet se.*] Caesar set sail from Africa upon the ides or thirteenth of June according to the Roman kalendar then in use, and came to Rome upon the seventh of the kalends of August, or twenty-sixth of July. But the months were not in their proper situations with regard to the seasons of the year, upon account of the confusion already taken notice of. The day, which they called the ides of June, ought to have been the fourteenth of April ; and the fifth of the kalends of August ought to have been the twenty-sixth of May. So that notwithstanding this letter is supposed to have been written not long before the conclusion of the African war, and Caesar actually left Africa in the middle of June ; yet at that time the weather might have been stormy and tempestuous, and the navigation dangerous. See rem. 2. ep. 15. h. l. Hirtius de Bel. Afr. 98.

EPIST. XXIII.

N*ON ea res me deterruit.*] The person, to whom this letter is inscribed, is Cneius Domitius, the son of L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who had been consul A. U. 699, and a violent opposer of Caesar's measures. Both father and

and son were taken prisoners by him at the surrendry of Corfinium, and generously dismissed. And from thence they went with Pompey into Greece; the former was killed in the battle of Pharsalia, but the latter survived it, and returned to Italy, where he seems to have been A. U. 707, when Cicero wrote this letter to him to advise him to consult his own safety, by living peaceably and quietly, since he had satisfied his duty to his country, and had no further opportunity of doing it any service. It is probable, that he complied with this advice, though he still retained his old principles. For we find him numbered amongst those, who were concerned in the death of Caesar, and banished upon that account by the Pedian law. But he managed his affairs with so much address, that after the death of Brutus and Cassius, he first made his peace with Antony, and then upon the decline of his power, took an occasion to leave him, and joined himself to Augustus: and though he did not live long himself to enjoy the benefits of that union, yet he left a son, who recovered the ancient splendor of the family, and laid a foundation for the empire, which took place in the person of his grandson Nero. Sueton. in Nero, c. 1, &c. Paterc. 2. 72.

^a *Conatum esse suscipere.*] *Si te intelligerem plus conatum esse suscipere* is not different from *si te intelligerem plus suscepisse*. For *conari* frequently implies the *act itself*, as well as *the attempt to do it*. Thus in the third letter of the fifth book, *ad te scribere sum conatus* is the same as *ad te scripsi*.

THE
REMARKS
UPON THE
SEVENTH BOOK.

EPIST. I.

¹ *S* *I te dolor aliqui corporis.*] It is not worth while to spend any time in enquiring, who this Marius is, to whom this letter is addressed. For I find, that it is neither possible to arrive at any certainty in it, nor will it be of any service in understanding the letter. It appears from thence, that he was a man of taste and learning, living in a polite and elegant retirement from the noise and business of the town, and enjoyed a large share of Cicero's esteem and friendship, which necessarily raises in us a high opinion of the agreeableness and real merit of his character; and makes one wish, that one could be better acquainted with it. He lived, when this letter was written to him A. U. C. 698, at a pleasant seat in Campania, and could not be drawn from thence to be a spectator of the magnificent shews, with which Pompey entertained the people at the opening of his theater this year. An account of them, and a commendation of his taste in preferring the pleasures of reading and study to the insipid diversions of this festival, is the principal subject of the letter. *Concerning the opening of this theatre, and the shews exhibited there, see Plin. lib. 7. 48. lib. 8. 7. Dio. 39. Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

² *Ex qua Stabianum perforasti.*] *Stabianus mons* a celebrated mountain in Campania, near which was a town called *Stabiae*, now *Castel a mar di Stabia*, situated upon the eastern side of the bay of Naples. But it is not so easy
to

to find out, where the other place was. There are no footsteps in ancient authors of *Sejanum*; and the MSS. and old editions differ much in the reading of it. If the distance of *Stabiae* from *Setia* would allow of it, I should be willing to read *Setinum*. For *montes Setini* are a beautiful range of mountains, which were then covered with vineyards, and would have been a delightful termination of a prospect. But they are situated in *Latium*, and too far removed to be seen at *Stabiae*. Dr. Mead's MS. reads *Cenam*, and two others *Senum*. Hence Turnebus conjectured that we ought to read *sinum*, and understood by it the gulph of Naples; Lambin, *Misenum*, and understood by it the promontory of that name. And it must be owned, that either of these will do: for if Marius's villa was situated on the eastern side of the *Stabian* hills, by cutting a view through them, he would lay open the bay, and have a prospect of the promontory of *Misenum*, which was situated on the western side of it, opposite to *Stabiae*. Plin. l. 3. c. 5. Tacit. xiv. c. 4. Cluverii Ital. descrip. l. 3.

³ *Sp. Maecius*.] Maecius was a celebrated critic. He is mentioned by Horace in his art of poetry.

— *Si quid tamen olim*
Scripseris, in Maeci descendat judicis aures
Et patris, et nostras. v. 386.

Not that he was alive in Horace's time; for the art of poetry was written forty years after this letter. But his character being known, his name is made use of for any other good judge of fine writing. Vid. Bentlei not. in loc.

⁴ *Aesopus*.] He was one of the best actors of tragedy that ever appeared upon the Roman stage; but was now grown old, and only introduced out of compliment to Pompey upon the present occasion. Plin. nat. hist. x. 51. Plut. in vit. Cic. Orat. pro Sext. 56.

⁵ *Si sciens fallo*.] These are the first words of the form of swearing made use of by the Romans. *Lapidem enim*

filicem (says Festus) *tenebant, juraturi per jovem, haec verba dicentes: si sciens fallo, tum me Diespiter, salva urbe arceque, bonis ejiciat, uti ego hunc lapidem.* This oath was introduced in a part of one of the tragedies, which fell to the share of Æsopus, and requiring to be spoken with a peculiar emphasis and tone of voice, overpowered the weakness of the old man, and his voice failed him.

Quid? ne id quidem leporis habuerunt.] Graevius thinks, that we ought to read here; *qui ne quidem lepores habuerunt, quos solent mediocres ludi.* This emendation may be allowed to be ingenious, but not necessary. But there is another of his in the first line of the following page, which deserves the highest commendations; for instead of *Craterarum tria millia*, he reads *cetrarum tria millia*. For *Cetræ* are shields made of the skins of elephants, which though much used by the Africans and Spaniards, yet were very uncommon at Rome, and consequently the bringing such a number of them as three thousand upon the stage, must add greatly to the magnificence of the shew. See Plin. l. 11. c. 39.

⁶ *In Clytemnestra.*] *Clytemnestra* and *Equus trojanus* are the names of two tragedies; the former of which was written by Attius, and the latter by Livius Andronicus. In the acting of the one, six hundred mules were introduced upon the stage; and in the acting of the other, three thousand men armed with shields, as if they had come out of the belly of the Trojan horse. This account of the representations of the Roman tragedies cannot but lower our opinions of the taste of the Roman people, and whatever conclusions Mr. Addison may have drawn in commendation of it, from the favorable reception, which the *Self Tormentor* of Terence met with upon the stage; I am sure the treatment, of which that poet complains upon other occasions, and the ridiculous compliances, which men of real taste and genius were obliged to make

in the public shews, which they exhibited to the people, clearly prove that they were not in general better than a modern audience. Spectat. N^o. 502. Teren. prol. in Hec.

Proteni.] *Protenes* was the name of the slave, which read to him.

7 Aut oscos ludos.] Cicero speaks with some severity upon the Roman senate in this place; for he tells Marius, that he thinks he can have no desire to see *Oscos Ludos* or *Farces*, since he may have an opportunity of being entertained with them every day in the Roman senate, where the behavior of the flatterers of Pompey and Caesar, and the inconstant and imprudent zeal of others afford as ridiculous a spectacle, as any mimic or buffoon, that ever appeared upon the stage. *Osci ludi* are the same as those, which are called *Attellanae*, and were, like the English farces, contrived to raise the mirth of the company by absurd and ridiculous representations.

8 Qui gladiatores.] Gladiators were intended originally to fight upon the stage for the entertainment of the people, but were often employed in tumults and seditions in the state. Cicero therefore politely compliments Marius, for having always shewn a contempt for them, and hath a severe sting at Pompey, who had often employed them, but now found by experience the ill consequence of it, since there was some danger of their being now employed against himself.

9 Opinio ejusmodi.] See Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 1. c. 7.

1 In judicio Galli Caninii.] See Rem. 3. Epist. 4. and Rem. 6. Epist. 7. of the first book.

EPIST. II.

1 MANDATUM tuum.] Marius had desired Cicero to purchase some part of an inheritance, of which he himself had been appointed an heir in conjunction with some others. This request gave occasion to the jocular begin-

beginning of this letter; in which Cicero laughs at him, for employing a person to make the purchase for him, whose interest it was to sell it at the highest value; and though his friendship for him perhaps would have inclined him to have made an advantageous bargain for him; yet as he had limited the price, he should even place a person at the auction to bid against him, and to take care that it was not sold under that price. *De Offic. lib. 3. 15.*

² *De Bursa te gaudere certo scio.*] *T. Manatius Plancus Bursa* was one of the tribuns in the year U.C. 701, who with two others headed the mob, tore up the benches in the Forum, and burnt the Senate-house with the body of Clodius. Cicero accused him, as soon as ever his office expired, upon account of these violent acts; and notwithstanding Pompey defended him, yet Cicero's vigor in managing the prosecution procured his condemnation by an unanimous vote of the whole bench. This letter therefore referring to his trial and condemnation, could not have been written sooner than the end of December. For *Bursa* could not have been tried, till he resigned his tribunship, and that office did not expire till the beginning of that month. *Dionys. l. 6. Liv. 39. 52. Life of Cicero. v. i. 547.*

³ *Quam morte inimici laetatum.*] *Clodius* is meant in this place; who in the beginning of this year had been killed by *Milo*. *Life of Cicero, v. i. 534.*

⁴ *Ne intercaletur.*] The Romans made use of the lunar year, which falling short of the true solar year about eleven days six hours; the beginning of it would in a certain number of years have gone backward through all the seasons. But in order to prevent this inconvenience, the pontifices were ordered by an old constitution of numa, to add a month of twenty-two days every second year, and a month of twenty-three days every fourth year, between the
the

the 23^d and 24th of February. But they abused their trust; for they made or omitted their intercalation without any regard to the rule, just as it would serve their friends, and prejudice their enemies. Cicero therefore in this place wishes, that there may be no intercalation; that the power of the present magistrates, who had given them so much trouble, might be shortened. Sueton. in Jul. 40. Censorinus c. 20.

EPIST. III.

PERSAEPE *mibi cogitanti.*] Cicero wrote this letter to Marius in the end of the year U.C. 706, or beginning of the year U.C. 707. for the mention, which he makes of Juba, fixes it to the time, when the remains of Pompey's friends, after the battle of *Pharsalia*, fled into Africa, and put themselves under the protection of that prince. The business of it is, to justify his own conduct for returning into Italy, and for putting himself so hastily under the power of the conqueror. For "some
" condemned him for not following Pompey, some more
" severely for not going to Africa, as the greatest part had
" done; others for not retiring to Achaia, or some distant place removed from the war, till they could see what would be the event of it." Ep. ad Attic. xi. 7. Life of Cicero, v. 2. 141.

² *Lentulo et Marcello Cofs.*] L. Cornelius Lentulus and C. Claudius Marcellus were consuls A.U. 704, when the civil war broke out, and Pompey abandoned Italy. This Villa of Cicero, which is so frequently mentioned in these and the letters to Atticus, was situated near Pompeii, upon the Eastern side of the bay of Naples, and at no great distance from the Villa Stabiana of Marius, already taken notice of.

³ *Famaeque cedere.*] That is, though he foresaw what would be the event of the war, yet he determined to follow Pompey into Greece; whither his reputation and glory called him, rather than consult his own safety by continuing in a state of neutrality in Italy. Life of Cicero, v. 2. p. 87, &c.

⁴ *Ut bellum duceret.*] All thoughts of peace being laid aside, Cicero's next advice to Pompey was *ducere bellum*, to draw the war out into length, and not give Caesar an opportunity of fighting. Pompey approved of this, and would inevitably have ruined Caesar, if a small success at Dyrrachium had not raised the spirits of his party, and forced him to take the fatal resolution of giving him battle at Pharsalia. Life of Cicero, v. 2. p. 121, &c. Caes. de Bell. civ. lib. 3. c. 52.

⁵ *Contulit.*] at Pharsalia. Caes. de Bell. civ. cap. 7. 6. Plut. in vit. Pomp. et Caes.

⁶ *Discessi ab eo bello.*] Cicero was not at the battle, but left behind indisposed at Dyrrachium, where he staid till the defeat of Pompey, which flung them all into so great a consternation, that they immediately dispersed. Cicero set sail for Italy, and arrived at Brundisium about the latter end of October.

Alicujus culpa.] Pompey was the person, who contributed most to raise the power of Caesar; and when Cicero found it irresistible, he recommended peace to all; but that being rejected, and their army and general being lost, he resolved to put an end to the war with regard to himself, after he had tried in vain to do it with regard to others. For this sentence ought to be pointed in the following manner: *amisso exercitu, — me voluisse etiam, reliquis omnibus postquam non potuerim, mihi ipsi finem fecisse belli.*

EPIST. IV.

¹ *IN Cumanum veni.*] This Villa of Cicero, which was called his *Cuman Villa*, was situated upon the hills near *Cumae*, not far from the borders of the *Lucrin Lake*, and on the western side of the gulf of Naples. He had another Villa on the *Baian shore*, not far distant from the *Cuman*, which he calls his *Puteolan Villa*. Ep. ad Attic. x. 4. 14, 7.

² *Quare si quod constitutum cum podagra.*] Gronovius hath very well explained *constituere alicui* or *cum aliquo* to be the same as *convenire de loco et tempore coeundi*. It is an expression frequently made use of by the Civilians. The meaning therefore of this place is: *If your gout and you are upon any terms of agreement, and you have fixed the time of meeting, put it off to a longer day; that we may enjoy each others company without any interruption from that quarter, whilst we are so near together, as we shall be, when I arrive at my Pompeian Villa.* Gronov. Observ. i. c. i.

EPIST. V.

¹ *VIDE, quam mihi persuaferim.*] This letter of Cicero to *Caesar* shews upon what terms of confidence and friendship they were at the time of writing it; that is, in the beginning of the year U.C. 699. *Caesar* was then in Gaul, and *Cicero* recommends *Trebatius* a lawyer, and one afterwards much celebrated in the profession, to his favor and protection. What influence this recommendation had will be seen in the following correspondence between *Cicero* and *Trebatius*. And what answer *Caesar* immediately returned is learned from a letter to *Quintus Cicero*, who was at this time lieutenant to *Caesar* in the province; wherein *Marcus* tells his brother, that *Caesar*, *Trebatium quod ad se miserim, persalse et humaniter gratias mihi agit.*
Ne-

Negat enim in tanta multitudine eorum, qui una essent, quenquam fuisse, qui vadimonium concipere posset. Epist. 25. lib. 2.

² *Quocunque exirem.*] Cicero was at this time desirous of procuring some foreign command: but acted with great caution, for fear of offending Caesar. Pompey in particular, the year before, having the provinces of Spain and Africa allotted to him for five years; by the Trebonian law, invited Cicero to be one of his lieutenants; but Cicero deliberated for some time, whether he should accept of it, and though at last he determined to do it, yet by the persuasion of his friends and the intreaty of Caesar, he soon resigned it. When he wrote this letter he had not resolved, whether he should go or not; neither was he certain whether Pompey would depart from Rome. For he himself was doubtful, whether it would be for his interest; and indeed did never venture to go out of Italy. Ad Q. F. 2. 15. Ad Attic. 18. lib. iv.

³ *M. Orfium.*] It is not easy to determine, whether we ought to read *Orfium* or *Curtium*. We meet with both these names in the letters of Cicero to Quintus, amongst the persons recommended by him to Caesar; and the readings of the MSS. are so various, that either may be supported by them; but it is of little importance which ever is right. It is plain, that this answer of Caesar encouraged Cicero to recommend Trebatius: and it will be still plainer, if we read it in the following manner: *M. Orfium, quem mihi commendas, vel legatum Galliae faciam; vel hunc Leptae delegabo, si vis tu ad me alium mittere, quem ornem.* For this appears to be the best that can be collected from amongst the readings of the MSS. and conjectures of the critics. Vid. Tunstalli Epist. ad C. Midd. p. 115.

⁴ *Vetere verba meo.*] It is probable that Caesar laughed at Cicero for his coolness in recommending, and reservedness,

ness in asking favors for his friends. Cicero tells his brother, that he even chid him for it : *meam in rogando verrecundiam objurgavit.* 3. 1. In this letter therefore he lets Caesar know, that he does not recommend Trebatius in his old stile, but with more zeal and earnestness, *more Romano*, or, as he explains this expression in another letter, *ut gravissime ac diligentissime potuit.*

If *Milone* is the true reading, Cicero recommended him perhaps with a view to the consulship, for which he intended soon to be a candidate : but Dr. Tunstall thinks, that we ought to read *in illo*, and refer it either to Curtius or Orsius. Dr. Mead's MS. and all the others agree in the reading of the text, without any variation.

[*Quod familiam ducit.*] Several of the commentators have interpreted this expression to signify, that Trebatius was the head or leader of a sect or party amongst the lawyers. But that is not the meaning of it ; and the pointing observed in the text discovers the true one. *I must add*, says Cicero, (what is the principal thing, the principal part of his character,) *that he has an uncommon strength of memory, and a perfect knowledge of the law.* Cicero uses this phrase in several other places in the same sense. *de Fin.* lib. 4. *Phil.* 5.

EPIST. VI.

[*In omnibus meis epistolis.*] This letter to Trebatius seems to have been written before any of the others, which are addressed to him in the present collection. It was very probably written about the middle of the year U. C. 699. For Cicero thought, that he was then going into Britain with Caesar. But in a letter written in July, he tells Atticus, that he had reason to think, that his brother was by that time arrived in Britain, and consequently, as Trebatius and he were both supposed to accompany Caesar thither, this letter to Trebatius must have been written

written some time before. ad Attic. 4. 15. Trebatius, in some of his letters to Cicero, seems to have discovered an uneasiness at his situation in Gaul, and to have expressed a desire of returning to Rome. Cicero therefore advises him, not to sacrifice his present views, which were very good, to an unmanly peevishness of temper and inconstancy, of which he ought to be ashamed.

² *Quibus illa manibus gypsatisissimis.*] Cicero tells Trebatius, that his friends will excuse him for laying aside all inclination of returning home, upon the same account, that the women of Corinth excused Medea: *quibus illa manibus gypsatisissimis persuasit*; that is, *manibus candidis, gypsa illitis sive comicarum personarum, sive barbararum more*. Dr. Mead's MS, and most of the others, reads *gypsatisissimis*.

³ *Tu qui caeteris cavere.*] Vid. Rem. 3. Ep. 1. lib. III.

⁴ *In Britannia.*] Caesar was the first Roman that invaded Britain. He made two expeditions thither: the first in the consullship of Pompey and Crassus, the year before the writing of this letter. But his stay was short then, and he returned without making any discoveries or advances in the country. He therefore set out upon a second in the following year, and as far as can be collected from the letters of Cicero to his brother, about the beginning of June. For though Caesar hath himself left us an account of this expedition, yet he hath given no circumstances, by which we are enabled to discover the time of his setting out upon it. Cicero, thinking that Trebatius intended to accompany Caesar, advises him in a jocular manner, to take care of the British warriors, who fought with great art, and often deceived their enemies by their unexpected attacks. They were called *Essedarii* from their fighting in chariots, which were called *Esseda*. Caesar hath described the manner of fighting in the following words: *Genus hoc est ex essedis pugnae:*
primo

primo per omnes partes perequitant, et tela conjiciunt, atque ipso terrore equorum et strepitu rotarum ordines plerumque perturbant. Et quum se inter equitum turmas insinuavere, ex essedis desiliunt, et pedibus praeliantur, &c. De Bell. Gall. lib. iv. c. 29.

Et quando Medeam agere coepi.] Cicero hath quoted the original in a letter to Caesar in the thirteenth book. Ep. 15. but it is not to be found now in the *Medea* of Euripides.

EPIST. VII.

E*GO te commendare non desisto.]* Cicero appears to have been in an uncommon manner solicitous to promote the interest of Trebatius. He wrote this letter not many days after that, which precedes it. For he had not yet been informed, whether he intended to go into Britain or no.

² *In Britannia.]* The people at Rome seem to have had a very indifferent opinion of Caesar's expedition into Britain. They thought it a romantic scheme, from whence the public could not possibly derive any advantage. Thus Cicero in a letter to Atticus: *Britannici belli exitus expectatur: constat enim aditus insulae esse munitos mirificis montibus. Etiam illud jam cognitum est, neque argenti scripulum esse ullum in illa insula, neque ullam spem praedae, nisi ex Mancipiiis: ex quibus nullos puto te literis aut musicis eruditos expectare.* Ep. 16. lib. 4.

EPIST. VIII.

S*CRIPSIT ad me Caesar perhumaniter.]* Cicero, when he wrote this letter, did not know, whether Trebatius was gone into Britain. He blames him for not accepting of the place which Caesar offered him, and jocularly threatens to complain of him to two of his

K k

brother

brother lawyers, *Vacerra* and *Manilius*. For he did not dare to take the same liberty with *Cornelius*; who might think, that a complaint against one of his disciples was an affront to himself.

² *Tribunatus commodi.*] A tribune of the soldiers had a considerable rank in the army; he was next below the *legatus* or lieutenant, and the third from the *consul*. Lipf. de Milit. Rom. lib. 2. c. 9. Graevii Praefat. in 1. tom. Antiq. Rom.

EPIST. IX.

¹ *EX tuis literis.*] Cicero owns himself better pleased with the behavior of Trebatius, than he used to be, and encourages him to improve his friendship with Caesar. I think I can not be mistaken in removing this letter into the present situation: for it is the first, that was written by Cicero after his being informed, that Trebatius did not accompany Caesar into Britain.

² *Levis in urbis.*] Vid. Epist. 6. h. 1.

Eos ipsos, qui cum sygraphis.] King Ptolemy borrowed a great deal of money of several persons, both at Rome and in the province, in order to support his expences in soliciting his restoration; but being restored by Gabinius, his creditors were now at Alexandria soliciting the payment of it. To this Cicero alludes, and tells Trebatius, that even, if he had had a legal demand upon Caesar, he ought not to have thought himself disappointed, if he had not yet procured satisfaction. For the creditors of Ptolemy were still at Alexandria, and the debt, which they claimed with so much justice, was still unpaid. See an account of Ptolemy's debts in the oration for Rabirius.

c. 2, 3, 4.

EPIST. X.

¹ *JAM diu ignoro.*] Victorius reads in his edition, *tam diu ignoro, quid agas*. Dr. Mead's MS. hath *jam diu*; but one belonging to Graevius, *quam diu*. And we ought to follow that reading: *quam diu ignoro, quid agas?*

² *Propter ejus occupationes.*] Dr. Mead's MS. hath *occupationes*, which is not to be found in any other, that I know of. Victorius therefore conjectured, that we ought to read *propter ejus luctum*. For Julia, Caesar's daughter, who had been married to Pompey, died, while Caesar was in Britain. It gave him inexpressible affliction, when he heard of it. And it is certain, that Cicero declined writing upon that account, from the following passage in a letter to Quintus. *Ex Britannia Caesar ad Kal. Sept. dedit literas:—ad eas ego ei literas nihil rescripsi, ne gratulandi quidem causa, propter ejus luctum*. Lib. 3. Epist. 1. 7.

³ *Cn. Octavius.*] Vid. Epist. 12. h. 1.

EPIST. XI.

¹ *LEGI tuas literas.*] Cicero had received letters from Trebatius, wherein he had boasted of his great intimacy with Caesar, and of the high opinion, which he had conceived of his knowledge in the law. This gave him an occasion to laugh at his vanity, in being pleased at a reputation, which he had gained in a place, where there were few to stand in competition with him. *What, says he, if you had gone into Britain? you would certainly have been at the top of your profession there.* For we ought to read: *Quid si in Britanniam profectus esses?* and not: *quod, &c.*

² *Ne frigeas.*] Cicero uses this word in a double meaning. The obvious sense is: *I wish you may not suffer from*

the cold of the approaching season. But the other sense is : *I wish you may continue to be employed by Caesar, and, notwithstanding your present boasting, not be slighted by him for the future.* And in this metaphorical sense it is often used. Thus Cicero in a letter to D. Brutus : *mibi crede, homini non glorioso, plane jam, Brute, frigeo.* Epist. 18. l. xi. Ep. 13. and Ep. 17. h. l.

³ *Vos satis calere audio.*] He goes on with the same metaphor, and alludes to some disturbances which happened upon sending the soldiers into winter-quarters, and which had like to have ended in the destruction of Q. Cicero, if he had not been unexpectedly relieved by Caesar. *De Bell. Gall. lib. 5. c. 22. Diebus circiter xv, quibus in hiberna ventum est, initium repentini tumultus ac defectionis ortum est ab Ambiorige et Cativulco, &c.*

⁴ *Studiofissimus natandi.*] It is observed in the history of the Life of Cicero, that this little hint here given of Trebatius's love of swimming, adds a new light and beauty to that passage of Horace, where the poet introduces him, advising, *to swim thrice cross the Tiber*, to cure the want of sleep ; the advice, it seems, being peculiarly agreeable to his own practice and character.

—ter uncti

Transnento Tiberim ; somno quibus est opus alto.

Sat. 2. l. 8.

⁵ *Quem antea ne Andabatam defraudare.*] Read : *quem antea ne andabata defraudari poteramus.* The *andabatae* or ἀνδάβαται were a sort of gladiators or fighters, who fought upon the stage in chariots, either hoodwinked or in the dark. This appears from a passage of St. Jerom *adver. Jovinianum*, and another *adver. Helvidium*, as they are both quoted by Erasmus. In the former he says : *melius tamen est, clausis quod dicitur oculis, andabatarum more pugnare, quam directa spicula clypeo veritatis non repellere.* In the latter : *ad hoc probandum congerit de scripturis exempla quam*

quam plurima, more andabatarum in tenebris gladium ventitans. Vid. Lipf. Sat. 11. 12. Erasmi adag.

⁷ *Una mehercule nostra.*] One friendly conversation will be of more value to us than all Gaul. He mentions only the *Haedui*, because they were the first inhabitants of Gaul, who made an alliance with the Roman people, and were honoured with the title of *Fratres*. Tacit. lib. 2: *Primi Ædui senatorum in urbe jus adepti sunt. Datum id foederi antiquo, et quia soli Gallorum fraternitatis nomen, cum P. Romano usurpant.* See also Plut. in Caes.

E P I S T. XII.

¹ *IN equo Trojano.*] Cicero laughs at Trebatius, and tells him, that he was not like those in the play of the *Trojan Horse*, who were wise, when it was too late. For he foresaw all the inconveniencies of a campaign, as soon as he engaged in a military life, and used his utmost caution to prevent them: *Witness*, says he, *the letters which you first sent, wherein you desired to return home again; and your little curiosity, in not going into Britain. But I blame you not for this. You ought still to make use of the same caution, and not suffer yourself to grow indolent in your winter-quarters, with which inlectus mihi videris, you seem to be captivated.* For Gronovius's conjecture of *inlectus*, instead of *injetus*, seems to be very probable. Lambin reads *vinctus*.

² *Rabiofulas sat fatuas.*] Lambin reads, *primum, quod illas rabiofulas scil. literas.*

³ *Cn. Octavio.*] Vid. Ep. x. h. l.

⁴ *Superbiam tuam.*] Vid. Ep. x. lib. 1. *Samarabriga* was the principal town in that part of Gaul, which was inhabited by the *Ambiani*, and situated upon the river *Samara*, from whence it had its name, with the addition of *briga*, or *briga*; which in the Celtic language signified a bridge.

The river is now called the *Somme*, and the town *Amiens*. This latter is evidently derived from the ancient name of the people *Ambiani* or *Amiani*. Vid. Cellar. Not. Antiq. Orb.

EPIST. XIII.

¹ *NISI ante Roma profectus esses.*] Cicero wrote this letter to Trebatius, whilst he was still in his winter-quarters, and at a time, when the commonwealth was without its magistrates. It was therefore most probably written in the beginning of the year U. C. 700; for in that year the tribuns prevented the election of consuls for near six months, and every thing was in the utmost tumult and confusion.

² *Quis enim tot interregnis.*] When by any accident the election of the succeeding consuls had been put off, till the present consuls resigned their office; the administration devolved into the hands of an *interrex*, a magistrate, who must necessarily be a patrician, and chosen out of that body, called together for that purpose by the senate. The person who was chosen continued in power only five days, and then it was transferred to another, and so on, till an election of consuls could be obtained. The violence of party and faction was so great this year, that no election could be obtained for six months, in which time there were no courts of judicature open, nor any occasion to consult the lawyers. Liv. i. 17. Cic. per. Dom. c. 14. Graevius Rom. Antiq. Tom. 2. p. 1871. Dio lib. 40. Life of Cicero, v. i. p. 521.

³ *Unde petitur.*] The person, who brought an action against another, was called by the Lawyers *Petitor*, and the person against whom the action was brought, was said, in the usual forms of the law, to be *ille, unde petitur*; that is, *Petitor* is what we call the *Plaintiff*, and *ille, unde petitur* is the *Defendant*. The distinction is clear-

clearly understood from this passage in Cicero, de Orat. lib. 1. 37. *Homo ex numero disertorum postulabat, ut illi, unde peteretur, vetus atque usitata exceptio daretur.* — *quod Petitoris causa comparatum esse non intelligebat.*

* *Binas advocaciones postulent.*] It was usual for the Defendant to petition the Praetor for time to consult with his friends, whether he should stand a suit with the Plaintiff, or no. The time, which was allowed him, was called *advocatio*; because they did *advocare amicos, ut de lite deliberarent*. Hence in the later Roman Writers we may observe, that *advocatio* is used for any kind of delay. Thus Seneca de ira c. 1. 16. *Deinde advocationem etiam sibi petit, ut excutiendae spatium veritati habeat.* Also Pliny Ep. 8. lib. 5.

* *Haec signa meliora sunt.*] Cicero in this place uses *signa* in two meanings. With a reference to that which goes before, it signifies the same as *judicia, marks, or proofs*. With a reference to that which follows, it must be understood to signify *statues*; and, in short, it is a piece of wit, which cannot be easily explained, and does not much deserve it.

* *Non modo Laberium—sed Valerium.*] The character of Trebatius; his expedition into Gaul, and his returning home without getting any thing, would have made a good figure in the hands of a witty poet. Cicero therefore in a jocular manner tells him, that, if he has no hopes of succeeding in any of the schemes, which he had proposed, he had better return home, lest *Laberius* should bring him upon the stage, or *Valerius* make him the subject of a lampoon. There can be no doubt, but *Valerius Catullus* is the person, who is understood in this place. He seems to have been intimately acquainted with Cicero, and was a writer of satirical verses. See Epigr. 50. et Muret, in loc. Sueton, in Jul. Caesar, 73.

EPIST. XIV.

¹ *MIRABAR quid esset.*] *Pansa* had told *Cicero*, that *Trebatius* was become so attentive to his own interest, that he apprehended, he was turned Epicurean. *Cicero* took the hint, and wrote this letter to laugh at him upon account of his conversion, and to ridicule the principles of his sect.

² *Pansa.*] *C. Vibius Pansa.*] He was consul A. U. 710, an intimate friend of *Caesar*, and an epicurean himself.

³ *Quid tu si te Tarentum.*] The distinguishing principle of the epicureans was, that they placed their chief good in pleasure. *Excellent camps*, therefore says *Cicero*, *wherein men are made voluptuaries? What? if instead of sending you to a barbarous city in Gaul, I had sent you to Tarentum; what, I say, would have become of you there?* for, *Tarentum* was a beautiful city in that part of Italy called *magna Graecia*, and remarkable for its buildings, situation, and the luxury of its inhabitants. *Strabo* lib. vi. tells us, that their festival days were more in number than their days of work and business. And *Horace* hath given it the reproachful epithets of *Molle* and *imbelle*. thus :

Pectinibus patulis jactat se molle Tarentum.

Sat. lib. 2. 3.

Again :

Sed vacuum Tiber placet, aut imbelle Tarentum.

Lib. i. Ep. 7.

⁴ *Quod et Seius familiaris meus.*] *Dr. Mead's MS.* reads *Etitius*; others, *Etitios*, *Eticirius*, *Etheius*, *Zeius*. And some of the commentators have conjectured, that we ought to read *Titius*. But it will perhaps be thought more probable, that *Cicero* wrote *Titus*, and meant his friend *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, who was at least a great favorer of the

the principles of Epicurus, if not an open and avowed professor of them.

⁵ *Quid fiet populo Ulubrano.*] If you are an Epicurean, what will become of the inhabitants of Ulubrae, who have put themselves under your protection. For by the principles of your philosophy, you are restrained from engaging in affairs of state. Cicero jocosely speaks of these people, as if they belonged to the most considerable town in Italy; whereas it was so mean and contemptible a place, that Horace, in order to shew the power of contentment, to make a man happy, says, that a person, possessed of that excellent temper of mind, may even be happy at Ulubrae:

————— *quod petis, hic est;*

Est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit aequus. Ep. 9. l. 2.

EPIST. XV.

¹ *ADEONE me injustum.*] In the beginning of the year U.C. 700, J. Caesar and his lieutenant Labienus had several engagements with the Treviri, a people of Gaul inhabiting upon the banks of the Rhine, and remarkable for their bravery and courage. As Cicero therefore alludes to the war with this people in the conclusion of the letter, it is highly probable, that it was written about that time, and that the date affixed to it is the true one. Dr. Mead's MS. agrees exactly with that printed in the text.

² *Tantum metuo ne artificium tuum tibi parum profit.*] I am afraid, that your profession of the law will be of little service to you, in a place, where every thing is determined by arms and violence, and not by equity and justice, or in the words of Ennius, where

Non ex jure manu consertum, sed magis ferro rem repetunt.

“ And are you used to be employed in such causes as these? I am sure if you are, you have no reason to

“ fear

“fear the clause, which is commonly inserted in the decree of the praetor : for you will never begin the attack, *Scio te non esse procacem in laceffendo.*” This is the full meaning of the place. It hath been thought very difficult to be understood by the commentators ; but an account of the decree of the praetor added to the foregoing paraphrase, will probably make it intelligible. When any person had been driven out by violence from the possession of an inheritance, or any other property by one, that pretended to have a better claim to it, than himself, he applied to the praetor, who issued out a decree to reinstate him in his former possession, till their several claims could be determined by law, but always upon this condition, *unless he made the first attack, nisi, qui restitui postulat, prior vi armatis hominibus venerit.* Cicero tells Trebatius, that he need never be afraid of this clause, *quod prior vi hominibus armatis non venerit.* Hence it appears, that the critics ought not to have omitted *non* before *veneris*, nor to have changed *non veneris* into *conveneris*. For though the negative is not in the original form of the decree, yet Cicero inserted it to apply it to his own purpose. Dr. Mead’s MS. reads *non veneris*. A. Gell. xx. 9.

³ *Treviros vites Censeo.*] Dr. Mead’s MS. reads *de vestris cautionibus*, which seems to be the true reading. For Cicero alludes to the practice of the lawyers, which chiefly consisted in *cavendo*; and, in imitation of them, advises Trebatius to act cautiously with the Treviri, who were dangerous enemies, and of the capital kind. He calls them *capitales* in allusion to some inferior magistrates of that name at Rome, who presided over the public prisons and executions, and levied forfeitures of recognisance and the like. But at the same time, he wishes that they were Treviri of another kind, *Treviri monetales*, who were superintendants of the coinage, and described upon medals and inscriptions after this manner, III. VIR. A. A. A. F. F. that

is, *Triumvir duro, Argento, Aere stando feriundo*. Cic. de leg. III. 3. Pompon. 2. 30. ff. de orig. Ju. Hotoman. de magistr. Rom. Thesaur. Antiq. Rom. Graev. tom. 3. p. 1890.

EPIST. XVI.

¹ *QUAM sint morosi.*] This letter was written soon after Trebatius had expressed his being satisfied with his situation in Gaul. Therefore it seems to be rightly placed after that which precedes it.

² *C. Matii.*] See remark upon ep. 25. l. xi.

EPIST. XVII.

¹ *ACCEPI a te aliquot epistolas.*] Cicero wrote this letter in the month of April, at a villa belonging to Metrilius Philemon, who appears by his name, to have been a *freed man* of one Metrilius: it was situated in that tract of Latium, which was called either Pometinus or Pomptinus ager from the principal town Pometia, and not far distant from Ulubrae. For Trebatius having recommended the inhabitants of that place in his absence to the protection of Cicero, many of them waited upon him, when he was in the neighbourhood. Hence he pleasantly tells Trebatius, that he heard the *croaking* of his new clients, and caused a great motion amongst the *ranunculi* or *frogs* by his coming so near them.

² *Vestrae cautiones.*] Vid. 3. rem. ep. xv. Manutius supposes that Cicero means by *Graeculam cautionem chirographi mei* a letter, which he had written to Caesar in the Greek language, and wherein he had renewed his recommendation of Trebatius.

³ *Ignarissimo cuique.*] Though this is a smart piece of raillery at the indolence and inactivity of Trebatius, yet it is undoubtedly true, that an unconcerned spectator is generally a more faithful relater of an event, than one, that was most warmly engaged in the heat of action.

In

* *In palimpsesto.*] Παλίμψηστον or βιβλίον παλίμψηστον, as it is called by Plutarch in several places, is derived from ψάω, *rado, abstergo, deleo*, and was a name given to the writing table made use of by the ancients, to write down any thing, which accidentally occurred to them, and contrived in such a manner, that whatever was written, might easily be rubbed out. It was most commonly made of skins, or parchment, or barks of trees, and sometimes of wax, in quibus (as Quintilian observes) *facillima est ratio delendi*. But in this place it signifies nothing more than *chartula deletitia*, from which Trebatius had erased some old writing, in order to write his letter to Cicero: who therefore took occasion to laugh at his parsimony and wonders, *quid in illa chartula fuerit, quod delere maluerit, nisi forte suas formulas*. For it ought to be read in that manner: *quam haec scribere*, being undoubtedly added to the original text. Both Graevius and Gronovius are of this opinion; but if this reading should be disapproved by any one, he may read, *quum haec scriberes*. Vid. Montfaucon. Palaeo. Graec. p. 20.

⁵ *Nam Ulubris.*] Vid. rem. 5. ep. 14.

* *Epistolam tuam.*] This hath been thought to have been the beginning of a new letter; but it is nothing but a postscript.

EPIST. XVIII.

¹ *CHRYSIPPUS.*] Vid. ep. 4. ad Attic. lib. 2. 9. lib. 14. xi. ad Q. F. 2.

² *Quod si scribere oblitus es.*] Cicero, according to his usual method, plays upon the double meaning of *scribere*. For besides the obvious and common signification, it is in a particular manner appropriated to the lawyers; one branch of their profession being to write the forms of contracts, indictments, and last wills and testaments, &c. Hence Cicero, in his oration for Murena, calls it the *urbana*

bana militia respondendi, scribendi, cavendi. In this place therefore he laughs at Trebatius, and tells him, that if he has forgot to write, *few people will lose their causes upon his account, that is, there will be few, who will ever come to consult him.*

³ *Aliquid excogita.*] Trebatius had invented some excuse for not accompanying Caesar into Britain, and Cicero advises him, if he is afraid of the dangers of the next summer campaign, to do, as he did then, *aliquid excogita.*

EPIST. XIX.

¹ *AMABILIOR mihi Velia.*] The correspondence with Trebatius hath hitherto been regular, and uninterrupted. But there is an interval of several years between the time of writing this and the foregoing letter. For this letter was not written till after the death of Caesar A. U. 709, when Cicero had resolved to spend a few months with his son, a student at Athens, and was upon his way thither at Velia, the native place of Trebatius, a town situated upon the sea coast in Lucania, not far distant from the *Promontorium Palinuri*, or, as it is called now, *Capo di Palinuro*, agreeably to the prophecy in Virgil;

Eternumque locus Palinuri nomen habebit. lib. 6.

² *Quam Lupercal.*] This was a place in the city of Rome at the foot of mount Palatin, called so from a temple built there, and dedicated to Lupercus: *In hujus (montis Palatini) radicibus templum Lyceo, quem Graeci Pana, Romani Lupercum appellant, constituunt.* Justin. lib. 43. c. 1. Dio. 1. p. 25. Ovid indeed affirms, that it was the cave, in which Lupa gave suck to Romulus and Remus. Fast. 2. 421.

Illa loco nomen fecit; locus ipse Lupercal.

Magna dati nutrix praemia laetis habet.

And both perhaps may be right. For a temple might have been

been built in the same place to Lupercus, where Romulus and Remus were afterwards nursed by Lupa. And the most accurate inquirers into the topography of old Rome have determined, that the *ficus Ruminalis* and *Lupercal* were near together. But it is certain, that it was a prevailing opinion at Rome, that the two royal infants were nursed *ad ficum Ruminalem*. For in remembrance of it, they erected in that place a brazen image of a she wolf, giving suck to the two brothers. Thus Livy x. 23. *Ad ficum Ruminalem simulacra infantium conditorum urbis sub uberibus Lupae posuerunt*. It is to a statue of this kind, to which Virgil alludes in that beautiful description;

— *Geminos huic ubera circum
Ludere pendent pueros et lambere matrem
Impavidos: Illam tereti cervice reflexam
Mulcere alternos, et fingere corpora lingua.*

Æn. 8. 631.

Trebatius was building in this place; and though the situation of his paternal villa at Velia was delightful, yet Cicero would have him prefer the other, that he might have an opportunity of enjoying his company more frequently. Vid. Nardin. Rom. vet. vi. 12. Marlian. topog. urb. Rom. 11, 12.

³ *Neque Heleten.*] Heles or Hales was a river not far from Velia. ad Attic. xvi. ep. 7. Trebatius's villa was near this river, and formerly belonged to the Papirian family.

⁴ *Ille quidem habet Lotum.*] Cicero tells Trebatius, that if he cuts down an old tree near his house, *multum prospexerit*; that is, he will either enlarge his prospect, or else providently lessen his expences; which are greatly increased by the number of strangers that frequent this place to see the tree. For Cicero probably intends both by the expression, which he makes use of. I have preferred the reading adopted by Victorius. For it agrees better with the MSS. than *Lucum*, which is the reading of Manutius.

Cicero

Cicero would scarcely have advised Trebatius to have cut down a grove, which was held sacred by the Romans even after the days of Cicero. Vid. Dio. 51. Valer. Max. 1. c. 2.

¹ *Niconis discipulo.*] Nothing more is known of this physician than what is mentioned here: the title of his book is *de edacitate*.

EPIST. XX.

¹ *VIDE, quanti apud me sis.*] Cicero in his passage from Velia to Rhegium fulfilled a promise, which he had made sometime before to Trebatius, of explaining the art of finding arguments, and enlarging on any question. He gave this treatise the title of *Topica*, and it was an abstract of a piece of Aristotle upon the same subject. He sent it with this letter to Trebatius from Rhegium upon the twenty-seventh of July. Part of it is still extant amongst Cicero's works. Vid. Topic. c. 1.

² *Non longe abieris.*] It is not necessary to go far for examples. Many parts of the civil law cannot be learned from books. It may be observed, that *literae* and *libri* are used in this place promiscuously.

³ *Doctorem tamen usumque desiderant.*] This is the conjecture of Manutius. For the MSS. (Dr. Mead's in particular) read, *Doctorem tamen unumque*. Graevius upon the authority of his first MS. reads, *Doctorem tamen unumquem*. Cicero probably wrote, *Doctorem tamen unum aliquem desiderant*. Thus in his offices, lib. 1. c. *Confugiunt ad unum aliquem virtute praestantem*.

⁴ *Loci.*] You will understand the rules by reading them over frequently and attentively, and the *Topics* or *Loci* will occur to you immediately by practice. Cicero defines *Loci* in the treatise itself in this manner, c. 2. *Itaque licet definire, locum esse argumenti sedem*.

⁵ *In qua nos te continebimus.*] In which I myself will exercise you, if I return safe. For that is the proper meaning of

of *continere* in this place. Thus Petronius, c. 2. *nondum juvenes declamationibus continebantur*. Quintilian also, lib. x. 6. *exercitatione multa continenda est*.

EPIST. XXI.

S*SILII causam.*] The date of this letter is uncertain. Cicero desires Trebatius to deliver his opinion to Silius concerning a point of law, about which he himself had before consulted him. The case seems to have been this; Turpilia had left by will the bulk of her fortune to Silius; but her relations put in their claim, affirming, that she had not the power of making a will. That point therefore was to be tried before the praetor; but before they entered upon the trial, it was a custom for both parties *sponsionem facere*, or to enter into a recognisance, which was to be forfeited by either of them that should be found to have engaged in the dispute frivolously, or without an apparent right. The question therefore was, whether, if the will should be invalidated, the decree of the praetor to give possession to Silius, would be judged a sufficient pretence for him to have maintained his right, and consequently save his recognisance. There is some variation in the MSS. and editions, in the reading of the words of the decree: Some read *si bonorum*; others *ni bonorum*; Dr. Mead's MS. *Si bonorum Turpiliae possessionem capere praetor ex edicto suo mihi dedit*.

EPIST. XXII.

I*LLUSERAS heri inter scyphos.*] Cicero started this question in conversation, whether an heir could prosecute a person for a theft which had been committed before the inheritance came to him? Trebatius, when he heard it, thought the affirmative so evidently true, that no one could doubt of it. But Cicero in this letter produces the names of some eminent lawyers, who were of the contrary opi-

opinion. But jocularly concludes, that as for his part, he should be of the same opinion with Testa and Scaevola.

EPIST. XXIII.

TANTUM *quod ex Arpinati.*] *Quod* is rightly restored to the text by Victorius. For *tantum quod* signifies the same as ἀπλῶς, *pauillulum ante*. Thus Suetonius; *Juliam primum Marcello*, — *tantum quod pueritiam egresso, deinde, ut is obiit, Marco Agrippae nuptum dedit*. In Aug. 73. Cicero therefore was just arrived *ex Arpinati agro*, or from his seat at Arpinum, when he received the letters from Gallus, to which this is an answer. But it is not easy to determine the time, when it was written; for it relating only to an order, which he had given Gallus, to purchase some statues for the ornament of his Tusculan villa, and, he being continually making improvements at that place, there is nothing in the letter, which can enable us to discover it. It might possibly have been written sometime near the year U. C. 698, for it appears from the letters to Atticus, written about that time, that he was then employing his friends to procure statues and other ornaments for this favorite villa.

Nomina se facturum.] *Nomen facere* is a term, that belongs to the creditor, and signifies *to give credit*; as *nomen locare* is a term that belongs to the debtor. Avianus therefore being probably the person, of whom the statues were purchased, wrote word to Cicero, that he would *nomina facturum*, or give him credit for what time he pleased. When a person wanted to have credit given him, he used to ask it for a fixed time, either for a year, or two years, &c. and the general method of expressing it was *postulare*, or *rogare rem emptam die annua, vel bima vel trima*. But Cicero tells Gallus, that it was not agreeable to his character to be obliged to ask credit at all; much less to ask for a longer time than one year; and if he had only

purchased those statues, which he wanted, and at the price, which he ordered, he should not have been put to any difficulties of this kind. He wishes therefore, that Damaspippus may continue his design of taking them off his hands. *Prorsus enim ex istis emtionibus nullam desidero.* This Damaspippus is probably the same, that is mentioned by Horace. Sat. lib. 2. 3. 64.

Insanit veteres statuas Damaspippus emendo.

Tu autem ignarus instituti.] You, says Cicero, not knowing how little I esteem statues in general, have given more for those four or five, than I would have done for all that can be procured. And besides there is a great difference between the nine muses, which I bought of Metellus, and your drunken Bacchanals, for the former were fit furniture for my library, but where can I dispose of the other? *de Bacchanalium imaginibus vid. Middleton. Antiq. tab. XIV. p. 160.*

In palæstra locum.] The ancients had always in their villas a place, which was appointed for the exercise of themselves and family. They called it either *Gymnasium* or *Palæstra*. The Romans borrowed the name from the Greeks, as well as the custom: for they had in their cities, places set apart for exercise, which they called *Gymnasia*, because they performed their exercises naked. Cicero wanted such ornaments for his, as were made use of in these public *Gymnasia*.

**Gaudeo nullum Saturni signum.]* The astrologers always looked upon Saturn and Mars as two unlucky planets; but Mercury was thought to enrich all those, who were under his influence. Cicero jocosely alludes to these opinions, in what he says here.

†Trapezophoron.] This word properly signifies the stand or support of a table, which was generally made of ivory, or some other valuable materials, and adorned with curious workmanship.

Tarra-

Tarracinae.] Tarracina is a town in Latium, which was called by another name Anxur. Thus Pliny, lib. 3. c. 5. *Dein flumen Ufens, supra quod Terracina oppidum, lingua volscorum Anxur dictum.* We know what kind of situation it had from Horace, Sat. 5. lib. 1.

*Millia tum pransi tria repimus ; atque subimus
Impositum saxis late candentibus Anxur.*

Cicero wanted a *Diversorium* in that place, because it lay in the road between Rome and his Formian Villa, and it was one of his usual stages. Ad Attic. ep. 5. lib. 7. *De Formiano Tarracinam prid. kal. Jan. inde Pomptinam summam : inde Albanum Pompeii.*

Exhedria quaedam mihi nova sunt.] The ancients by the name of *Porticus* or *Porticula* understood those buildings, whose roofs were supported by pillars, and were erected as well for the purpose of walking or other exercise, as for ornament of the larger buildings, to which they generally belonged. Within these porticos, they had oftentimes apartments furnished with seats, in quibus philosophi, rhetores, reliquique, qui studiis delectantur, sedentes disputare possint. Vitruv. v. 11. These we learn from Vitruvius were called *exedrae* or *exhedria*. Cicero having lately made some new ones in the portico of this Tusculan Villa, wanted some paintings to hang up in them.

Quod ad me de domo scribis.] Gallus had a desire to procure a house in Cicero's neighbourhood, and had employed Cicero either to hire or purchase one for him. The house, which they had in view, was in possession of one Dexius, who was husband to Licinia, a sister of Crassus, and now in Spain. Cicero therefore tells Gallus, that he had taken care to have application made to Crassus for his interest in the affair, and that his daughter Tullia had spoken herself to Licinia. But he thought, that Crassus would be of little service, because there was little friendship between

him and his sister. And Licinia declined to treat with them about it in the absence of her husband. Manutius is of opinion, that we ought to read *Crassus* instead of *Cassius*, because Licinius was the family name of Crassus, and the women always bore the family name.

Tu et ad omnia.] Graevius reads thus: *faciam, ut scias tu, et ut ad omnia rescribas, et quando te expectem, &c.*

EPIST. XXIV.

'*CUM* decimum jam diem.] This letter was written A. U. 696, in the consulship of P. Cor. Lentulus and Q. Caec. Metellus. For Cicero gives an account of a violent pain of the bowels and *diarrhoea*, with which he was seized, by eating too freely of some vegetables at an inauguration feast made by young Lentulus, upon his being chosen into the college of augurs: but it is plain both from Cicero and Dio, that he was chosen this year. Pro Sext. 69. Dio. 39. p. 99. Life of Cic. v. 1. 425.

² *Quo Epicurum.*] Epicurus wrote a letter upon his death-bed, wherein he complained of his being greatly troubled with the strangury and dysentery, which his implacable enemies the Stoics attributed to a life of intemperance and debauchery. The letter is preserved both by Cicero and Laertius; but they differ in the name of the person, to whom it was sent: the former says it was sent to Hermachus, the latter to Idomeneus. Thus it is as it is translated by Cicero:

EPICURUS HERMACHO S.

Cum ageremus vitae beatum et eundem supremum diem, scribebamus haec. Tanti autem morbi aderant vesicae et viscerum, ut nihil ad eorum magnitudinem possit accedere. Compensabatur tamen cum his omnibus animi laetitia, quam capiebam memoria rationum inventorumque nostrorum: sed tu ut dignum est tua erga me et erga philosophiam voluntate ab adolescentia

lescentia suscepta, fac ut Metrodori tueare liberos. De fin. 2.

31. See the original in Diogenes Laertius x. 22.

¹ *Morbum edacitatis.*] The dysentery.

² *Lex sumtuaria.*] Sumptuary laws were those laws, which limited the expences of the Roman people in their dress, entertainments, diversions, &c. C. Orcius, one of the tribuns A. U. 572, was the first that proposed one: but he only limited the number of guests. But others after him went further, and prescribed the expence and kind of provisions, which they were to eat. The Licinian law in particular, to which Cicero most probably refers, included both those particulars, only with a free indulgence of the productions of the earth. It was enacted by P. Licinius Crassus A. U. 643, and was to this effect: *Legis summa, ut kalendis, nonis, nundinis Romanis, cuique in dies singulos xxx. duntaxat asses edundi causa consumere liceret: caeteris vero diebus, qui excepti non essent, ne amplius apponerentur, quam carnis aridae pondo tria et salsamentorum pondo libra: et quod ex terra, vite, arbore sit natum.* Macrob. 2. 13. A. Gell. 2. 24.

EPIST. XXV.

¹ *AMORIS quidem tui.*] Phameas the grandfather of Tigellius the musician had engaged Cicero to defend him in a trial: but the praetor appointing it to come on, the same day, that the trial of his old friend P. Sextius was, it was impossible for him to fulfil his engagement. Phameas therefore and Tigellius both resented it greatly, and endeavoured to do him all the unkind offices, which they could, with Caesar. Gallus, on the other hand, took great pains to prevent any prejudices being raised against Cicero upon this account, and wrote him word of it in a letter, to which this is an answer.

² *Ex literis tuis.*] Vid. ep. ad Attic. lib. xiv. 49.

³ *Cipius.*] *Cipius opinor dixit olim*, non omnibus dormio. Cipius indulged his wife in an intrigue with a particular gallant; and that it might be carried on without any interruption from him, often pretended sleep; but carefully guarded her against the attempts of others. *Erasm. Adag.*

⁴ *Id in lucris pono.*] Tigellius was a native of Sardinia, a place famous for the unwholsomeness of the air. Hence Cicero in a letter to Quintus, ep. 3. lib. 2. *Cura, mi frater, ut valeas: et quanquam est hiems, tamen Sardiniam istam esse cogites.* Also Martial, lib. IV. 60.

*Nulla fata loco possis excludere, cum mors
Venerit, in medio Tibure Sardinia est.*

⁵ *Cumque additum.*] I suppose by this time his vices are made as much known by the satyr, which hath been written against him by Licinius Calvus, as if they had been proclaimed by the public crier. He calls it *Hipponactium praeconium*, from Hipponax a native of Ephesus, and a writer of satyrical verses against two statuarys, in revenge for their having represented him in a ridiculous figure. It is said that they either hanged themselves, or fled their country upon this account. *Plin. lib. 35. c. 5. Horat. epod. 6.*

⁶ *In consilium iri necesse erat.*] Sextius was accused of bribery upon the *Pompeian law*, which was made by Pompey in his third consulship. Thus in the above quoted letter to Atticus: *Quo die Sextio nostro lege Pompeia in consilium iri necesse erat.*

Sat bonum unctorem.] Some read *cantorem*. But it is an alteration not grounded upon the authority of any MS. and altogether unnecessary. For Cicero makes use of this word by way of contempt. *Unctores* were those servants, who anointed their masters in the baths. We meet with them in the oldest inscriptions.

Epist. XXVI. REMARKS.

535

ASINIA. PREPUSA
VXOR. ET. CHRYSEROS
TREPTO. C. ASINI.
POLLIONIS. VNCTORI
BENE. MERENTI
VIXIT. ANNIS. XX.

Vid. Gruter. DLXXXI. 12. DCXXXVI. 10. Victor. Var.
lec. 37. 1. Dr. Mead's MS. reads *vinetorem*.

¹ *Habes Sardos venales.*] This proverb had its original
from the character of the Sardinian slaves, who were the
worst and most vicious of all, that came from any of the
provinces; and it is applied to persons contending with
one another, which should be the greater villain. Gronov.
de pec. vet. 4. 10.

² *Catonem.*] A panegyric upon Cato. See life of Cicer.
v. 2. p. 161.

EPIST. XXVI.

¹ *QUOD epistolam conscissam doles.*] This letter was
written A.U. 708. Victorius reads upon the au-
thority of some MSS. *Salva est domi; petes cum libebit*. But
the reading in the text is supported by Dr. Mead's.

² *Quod autem me mones.*] Gallus had probably advised
Cicero to behave with more caution in regard to Caesar,
lest he might sometime or other be provoked to resent it,
and we, says he, suffer for our unseasonable mirth, or
risum Sardonium ridemus, for that this is the meaning of
the proverb, we learn from Plutarch. in vit. C. Grac. For
C. Gracchus having been repulsed from the tribunate, for
which he had been a third time candidate, and observing
his enemies laughing at and ridiculing him, he told them,
that they laughed *the Sardinian laugh*; a laugh which
would soon terminate in their ruin and destruction. And
the same writer, in his treatise upon superstition, applies
it in the same manner. *Consider the atheist*, says he,

γελῶντα μὲν ματικὸν καὶ Σαρδόνιον γέλωτα. The proverb arose from an opinion, that there was a poisonous herb in Sardinia, which excited laughter in the person who tasted it, but immediately killed him.

³ *Si istum habuerimus.*] Victorius reads; *nisi istum cave-
rimus*. A friend of his; *ne si stylum acuerimus*. But per-
haps it will be thought better to read; *ne, si istum acueri-
mus*. For thus Cicero in the oration for Ligarius; *eorum
psorum ad crudelitatem te acuet oratio*.

⁴ *Manum de tabula.*] The origin of the proverb is said
to be this: Apelles admired an excellent piece of painting
by Protogenes, but blamed him for not knowing when to
leave off: *manum ille de tabula nescivit tollere, memorabili
praecepto, nocere nimiam diligentiam*. Plin. lib. 35. 10.

⁵ *Magister adest.*] Caesar returned from the war in
Spain much sooner, than was expected.

⁶ *Vereor ne in Catonium Catoninos.*] *Catonium* or κατώ-
νιον, signifies *orcus*, or *the place of the dead*. The mean-
ing therefore of what Cicero says is this: *Vereor, ne Caesar
me teque qui Catonem extollimus, ut Catonianarum partium
homines in Catonium, hoc est, ad inferos agat praecipites*.

Ne transversum unguem.] Go on therefore, do not
remove your attention the least from your style. It is a
proverb often used by Cicero, acad. lib. 2. *ab hac regula
mibi non licet transversum, ut aiunt, unguem discedere*.

EPIST. XXVII.

¹ *MIROR* *cur me accuses.*] The commentators have
taken a great deal of pains to discover, who the
true person is, to whom this letter is inscribed. But their
labours have hitherto been unsuccessful. Every thing, that
has been advanced by them, is obscure and uncertain;
neither can I pretend to bring any thing to the decision of
a point, upon which such experienced advocates are so
greatly

greatly divided. It appears from the letter itself, that the person to whom it is written, had been an instrument in discovering the conspiracy of Catiline, when Cicero was consul; that he had been tribun A. U. 696, when Cicero was recalled from banishment; and that he himself, being in exile at this time, had applied to Cicero to procure his restoration, and accused him of ingratitude in not doing it. This letter from Cicero is an answer to the charge of ingratitude, and is written in a stile and manner, that discovers great anger and resentment. If it is true, that this Gallus was tribun, when Cicero was recalled from exile, he can be no other than T. Fadius Gallus, to whom the seventeenth letter of the fifth book is addressed; and the mention of Caesar determines the date of it to some time during his dominion at Rome. See rem. ep. 17. lib. 5. Pigh. Annal. A. U. 695.

EPIST. XXVIII.

QUOD sine prænominē.] Volumnius, to whom this letter was written, was remarkable for his wit and humor, and seems to have been obliged to that part of his character for being admitted into the acquaintance and friendship of such persons as Cicero. There is a letter to Paetus in the ninth book of this collection, wherein Cicero gives a pleasant account of a supper, to which he had been invited by this merry friend of his. And in one of the orations against Anthony, he ranks him amongst the buffoons, which were his constant companions: *Addite Antonii collusores et sodales, Eutrapelum, Melam, Caelium.* Phil. 13. 4. for he had the name of *Eutrapelus* upon account of his wit. There are two persons of this name mentioned by Plutarch in his life of Brutus; the one a friend of Anthony, taken prisoner by the soldiers of Brutus at the battle of Philippi, and murdered by them; the other a philosophical friend of Brutus, who attended him

him almost in his last moments, and seems to have written an account of what passed at that time; but whether either of these is the same with the correspondent of Cicero, it is not very easy to determine. The former is the most likely, because he is called by Plutarch Μῖμος, or *Mimic*, and accused of treating the character of Brutus very scurrilously. Cicero wrote this letter whilst he was in Cilicia A.U. 702.

² *Ευτραπεία.*] *Urbanitas* or *politeness*. This is an allusion to his name, and determines him to be the same person mentioned in the above-quoted oration.

³ *Salinarum mearum.*] *Salinae* are places where salt is made; a considerable part of the public revenue arose from them, and they were managed by the governors of the provinces, or their procurators or surveyors. The word *Sal*, from whence *Salinae* is derived, signifies either *salt* or *wit*; Cicero therefore uses *Salinae* in the same double meaning, and jocosely reproves Volumnius, whom he had left his procurator, for suffering so many sayings to pass under his name at Rome, which were unworthy of him.

⁴ *Nihil tam sit ἀκούθηρον.*] The taste of the town is so low, that nothing is so void of beauty, which does not appear beautiful to some. I beg therefore, that in my name you will disown every thing, but a *smart ambiguity*, a *polite hyperbole*, a *beautiful alliteration*, a *pleasant surprise*, or any thing else, which answers to the rules that I have laid down myself in my treatise *de Oratore*.

⁵ *Per Antonii personam.*] It is not Antonius, who speaks upon this subject, but Julius Caesar Strabo. Either therefore Cicero forgot himself, or the words did not originally belong to the text, but were the marginal note of some reader, who remembered that Antonius was the principal speaker in the book, but forgot, that this part belonged to another.

⁶ *Nam de judiciis.*] Volumnius had written word to Cicero, that the forum, which was his peculiar province, had been invaded in his absence by many pretenders to eloquence. To which Cicero replies with great contempt, *Let them do what they will there, I do not regard it — per me trahantur pedibus omnes rei.* This is an expression often used to shew a disregard for a thing.

⁷ *Probare se liberum.*] He was probably the son of a freed man, or a freed man himself.

Nostrum illum amicum.] C. Curio vid. ep. 7. l. 2.

Dolabellam.] Dolabella was at this time married to Tullia.

EPIST. XXIX.

¹ *QUOD declamationibus.*] This letter was written A.U. 707, in answer to one from Volumnius, wherein he expressed his great desire of being at Rome, and attending his levee with Hirtius, Cassius, Dolabella, and others, who daily frequented his house, and exercised themselves in the art of speaking. Vid. ep. lib. 9.

² *Hirtio.*] Hirtius was a man of letters and politeness, and served under Caesar in the wars in Gaul. The eighth book of the history of those wars goes under his name, and he is said to have been the author of the two commentaries of the Alexandrian and African wars; but if he wrote the latter, he was not an eye-witness of it: for he was in Italy, when Caesar was in Africa. He was always warmly attached to Caesar's interest, and appointed by him, this year, governor of the city, with Volcatius; at which time he most probably published a law to exclude all those, who were in arms with Pompey, from any employment or office in the state. He was consul after Caesar's death A.U. 710, and died in the service of the republic before the walls of Modena. Epist. ad Attic. xii. 2. Phil. 13. 16.

Quod

³ *Quod haec pinnigero.*] The best comment upon this place is a passage in Cicero's treatise *de finibus* 5. xi. *Philoctetes cum cruciaretur non ferendis doloribus, propagabat tamen vitam aucupio sagittarum. Configebat tardus celeres, stans volantes, ut apud Accium est, pennarumque contextu corpori tegumenta faciebat. As Philoctetes therefore bewailed, that he was forced to shoot those arrows at birds, which had been used to have been shot at nobler game, non pinnigero, sed armigero in corpore: So Cicero lamented, that his eloquence, which used to fill the senate and forum with wonder and astonishment, and to contend with Hortensius and other heroes, was now employed in declaiming upon puerile and feigned subjects.*

⁴ *Exceperimus.*] *Excipere* signifies the same as *ferre, subire*. Thus *de clar. orat.* 69. *Sic ille, cum omni jam fortuna prospere functus, labores etiam magnos exceperisset, illius judicialis anni severitatem, quasi solem, non tulit.*

⁵ *Interioribus literis meis.*] lib. 3. ep. x.

THE
REMARKS
UPON THE
EIGHT BOOK.
EPIST. I.

QUOD tibi decedens.] The letters contained in this book make up all, that remains, of the Correspondence between Cicero and Coelius. They were all written within the compass of three Years; from the beginning of the year U. C. 702, to the end of the year U. C. 704; and are not only full of wit and politeness, but lay open to our view many important transactions, that happened within that period. Coelius was a man of great parts and humor, but though he had been trained up under the institution of Cicero, was both a libertin in principle and practice. He inherited a splendid fortune from his ancestors, but squandered it away by indulging himself in all the gay liberties of a life of pleasure. Before he was of age to hold any magistracy, he took the usual method of making himself known, by two public impeachments, and acquitted himself with credit in both. But one of them did not continue long unrevenge; for the son of one of his adversaries took up the father's quarrel, and accused Coelius of public violence, which would probably have been fatal to him, had he not been defended by Cicero in an oration, which is still extant, and generally more admired than any of the others, that have been delivered down to us. He ever after professed a high regard for Cicero, and in his tribunate strenuously defended

fended Milo against the Clodian faction. He was chosen Ædile A. U. 702. and supported by the votes and interest of all the honest party, who expected from his late behavior to find a leader in him. But upon the opening of the war between Caesar and Pompey, he affected a neutrality for some time, and at last joined himself to the strongest side, because he thought it the safest. By the power of his new friends he was advanced to the Praetorship, but soon after deposed by them, in order to quell the tumult and confusion, which he raised in the city by publishing several violent and odious laws; especially one for the cancelling of all debts. This exasperated him to such a degree, that he changed his party, and either out of a desire of revenge, or as a mark of the sincerity of his conversion, he began to raise commotions in favor of Pompey, and endeavored to draw off the soldiers to his interest; but he perished in the attempt, and put an end by his death to an affair, which began to alarm all Italy. This first letter was written to Cicero immediately after his departure for his province, most probably about the latter end of May A. U. 702. The MSS. all agree in reading: *decedens*. Gronovius thinks, we ought to read: *discedens*. It would be better, perhaps, to read: *quod tibi decedenti*, or *discedenti*. Vid. Ep. 4. ad init. Caes. de Bell. Civ. l. 3. Dio 41. Epit. Liv. 102. Life of Cicero, v. I. 461. v. 2. 120. de Clar. Orat. 79.

^a *De comitiis transpadanorum.*] The colonies beyond the *Po* had the rights of Latium conferred upon them by Cn. Pompeius Strabo, the father of Pompey the Great; by which all persons were entitled to the freedom of Rome, who had regularly passed through the magistracies of their respective cities. But J. Caesar attempted several times to extend this privilege to all in general; and a report had prevailed at the time of writing this letter, that he intended to push the thing with great vigor, in order to make

make use of their votes at the ensuing comitia, when he intended to sue for the consulship. Appian. de Bell. Civil.

2. 443. Afcon. in Mil. Dio 41.

³ *Marcellus.*] Concerning Marcellus, see Rem. Ep. 20. lib. 4. He was consul, and intended to move the senate, to abrogate Caesar's command in Gaul, and to appoint him a successor.

⁴ *Ipsum apud Bellovacos.*] The *Bellovaci* were inhabitants of that part of Gaul, of which *Beauvais* is at present the principal city, which is supposed to be the *civitas Bellovacorum* in the *notitia* of the Gallic provinces, and the ancient *Bratuspantium* of Caesar. They were a warlike people, or to use the words of Hirtius, *belli gloria Gallos omnes Belgasque praeftabant*; and were extremely populous, if the account, which the ambassadors of the Rhemi delivered in to Caesar, is to be depended on. The words are these: *plurimum inter eos (the Belgae) Bellovacos et virtute et auctoritate et hominum numero valere: hos posse conficere armata millia centum: pollicitos ex eo numero lecta millia sexaginta, totiusque belli imperium sibi postulare.* Caes. lib. 2. IV. lib. 2. 3. Caesar was about this time engaged with them.

⁵ *At Domitius.*] Dr. Mead's MS. reads: *aut Domitius cumanis des apposuit.* This is very corrupt, but justifies the retaining of *manus* in the text; the meaning is: *at Domitius has fabulas narrat, manum ad os apponens*, putting his finger to his mouth as a mark of secrecy. This *Domitius* is the father of the other, to whom the last letter in the sixth book is written. See Remarks upon that letter.

⁶ *Q. Pompeius.*] Q. Pompeius Rufus hath been mentioned already. He and Plancus were great enemies to Cicero, and both in exile; the one at *Baulis* in Campania, and the other at *Revenna*. Coelius therefore was easy with regard to that part of the report, which said that Cicero

was

was murdered by Pompeius, because he knew that Cicero was at a great distance from him. He only wishes, that they might get quit of this lie, if any real danger threatened him. I have retained in the text, *Embaeneticam facere*, because it is the reading of the principal editions, though it is difficult to determine, whether it is the true one. Dr. Mead's Manuscript agrees with the others, in reading *bauli senibaneticum facere*. The critics have made a variety of conjectures, but none so probable as the common reading; the meaning of which is, that Pompeius is so extremely miserable and poor, that he is forced to turn pilot at Bauli, to maintain himself; *Embaeneticam artem* or *naviculariam facere* or *exercere*. For *Embaenetica* is derived from *ἐμβαίνειν*, *conscendo*.

[*Congiaris*.] *Congiarium* is a donative. It properly signifies a particular sort of donative, which was distributed to the people, and received its name from the vessel, in which it was measured out to them. For that was called *congiuum*. Liv. 22. 2. But there is some pleasantry in this place, which we do not understand.

[*Tui libri politici*.] Cicero, about two Years before he set out for his province, finished a treatise on *Politics*, or on the best state of a city, and the duties of a citizen. It was drawn up in the form of a dialogue, and consisted of six books; in which form they subsisted for several ages after his death, but are now, except a few fragments, entirely lost. It was a work of great labor, and employed much of his time. For he seems to have been making preparations for it, above five years before it was completed. Ep. ad Attic. 3. 12, 14. 1. 2. 16. 1. 4. Life of Cicero, v. I. 486.

EPIST.

EPIST. II.

¹ *QUID? tu hoc me tibi mandasse existimas.*] This letter is an answer to the preceding one, and was written upon the sixth of July, on which day Cicero departed from Athens in his way to Cilicia. It requires very little comment, the understanding of Coelius's letter being the best method to understand this. However it will not altogether be unnecessary to observe, that Cicero laughs at him, for sending him such a heap of news, and written by one of his slaves, when he expected nothing but refined politics from his own hand. *What, says he, do you think I desired you to send me the matches of gladiators; the adjournments of causes; and news collected by Chrestus; and what no body dares mention to me, when I am at Rome?* There is a typographical mistake in the text; for it ought to be *vadimonia dilata*; *differre vadimonium* being a common expression for prolonging the day of trial.

² *Quae nec possunt scribi.*] *Quae, viz. negocia.* Coelius desired to be informed, if he saw Pompey, or what kind of conversation he had with him. Cicero tells him, that he did see him, and the subject of their conversation was politics, but of too delicate a nature to be committed to writing. His account of this meeting to Atticus is much the same. lib. 5. ep. 7. *Ego cum triduum cum Pompeio et apud Pompeium fuisset, proficiscebatur Brundisium a. d. XIII. Kal. Jun. Civem illum egregium relinquebam, et ad haec, quae timentur, propulsanda, paratissimum.*

³ *Gallus noster Caninius.*] Vid. Ep. i. lib. 7.

EPIST. III.

¹ *CERTE, inquam, absolutus est.*] M. Valerius Messalla, who had been consul with Domitius Calvinus, A. U. 700, and had procured the consulship by scandalous

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and open bribery, was upon his trial A. U. 702, acquitted. Coelius alludes to this in the beginning of the letter. It appears from a letter to Atticus, that Cicero heard of Messala's being acquitted at Gyarus upon the 9th or 10th of July, and as he most probably received this information either from Coelius's letter, or the packets of news sent with it, we cannot be much mistaken in supposing this letter to have been written sometime in June. Epist. xii. ad Attic. lib. 5. See also Ep. 15, 16, ad Attic. lib. 4.

Me repraesentante.] Dr. Mead's MS. reads, *me repraesentare*: the reading of the text and the reading of the MS. are both wrong. It will be better to read *me praesentati*; or with Gronovius, *me in re praesenti*. That is, *I being his advocate in the present cause*. Thus Cicero de Offic. I. 10. *Si constitueris cuiquam te advocatum in rem praesentem esse venturum*.

² *Ordinibus omnibus.*] *Absolutus est*———*et quidem omnibus ordinibus*; *sed singulis in unoquoque ordine sententiis*. This reading without the second *et* is found in Dr. Mead's MS. and it is the true one. For the meaning is: *he was acquitted by all the orders of judges; but only by a majority of one vote in each order*. The bench of judges had undergone several regulations, but at the time of writing this letter it was equally divided between the senate, the knights, and a third order called *tribuni aerarii*. This was settled by the *Aurelian law*, A. U. 683. and confirmed by Pompey in his second consulship, A. U. 698, who determined the number of judges.

Vide modo.] Coelius puts these words in the mouth of Cicero. Manutius hath given the following paraphrase of them: *vide modo, Coeli, non de Messala homines bene existimant? non ejus patet innocentia?* Coelius answers: *non mehercule*.

³ *Itaque relictus lege Licinia.*] Though he is acquitted of bribery upon the first indictment, yet he is indicted a second time for bribing the judges, by the *Licinian law*, and seems to be in greater danger, than he was before. This law was procured, in conjunction with Pompey, by M. Licinius Crassus, A. U. 698. vid. Dio, 39.

⁴ *Hic tibi, &c.*] Coelius applies a verse of Pacuvius to the reception, with which Hortensius met in the theatre of Curio.

⁵ *C. Hirrus mecum petit.*] These three persons were candidates with Coelius for the *Ædileship*; one of which, namely Hirrus, had, A. U. 700, the impudence to offer himself against Cicero for a vacant place in the college of Augurs. Cicero therefore had an old grudge against him, and upon that account would be impatient to hear the news of the ensuing election. vid. Epist. 4.

⁶ *Quod ad Pantheras attinet.*] It was the custom for the *Ædiles* to exhibit magnificent shews and sports to the people. Coelius therefore desires Cicero to procure him some panthers for that purpose. Cicero complied with his request, and in one of the following letters tells him in a pleasant manner, *that the beasts complained much against him, and resolved to quit the country, since no snares were laid in his province for any other creature but themselves.* Ep. 15.

EPIST. IV.

¹ *ESTNE? vici?*] This letter seems to have been written not many days after the preceding letter, and in the beginning of it Coelius glories in his frequent writing, and thinks he has got a victory over Cicero; who, at his departure from Rome, told him, that he never expected him to fulfill the large promises, which he made.

² *Nam me.*] read: *nam me, si fio, forsitan cum locupletiore referar.* “I wish, that Hirrus may be disappointed

“ more upon your account, than my own. For it may
 “ be an inconveniency to me; because, if I am returned
 “ I may perhaps be returned with a person of larger fortunes.” The inconvenience, which Coelius apprehended upon this account was this: The *Ædiles* generally endeavoured to outdo each other in the magnificence of their shews, and, if persons of unequal fortunes were matched together, it was unavoidable ruin to the poorer. But Coelius goes on: “ If *Hirrus* be rejected, it will be so pleasant a thing, that we shall not want a subject for mirth all our lives after. You perhaps will ask, Is it a thing of such importance? *sed tanti?* It is in truth; *sed est mehercule.* For so it ought to be read, and not *sed mehercule.* This is the reading of R. Stephen’s edition.

³ *Quod ad Philotimi liberti.*] Milo’s fortunes were confiscated, when he went into banishment. And *Philotimus*, a freed man of Cicero’s wife, entered into a partnership with some others, to purchase them at the public sale; but the purchasing of confiscated estates was always in bad repute at Rome, and the person engaged in this affair standing in so near a relation to Cicero, it was thought to reflect upon his character, and taken very ill by Milo. Cicero indeed justified himself in a letter to *Atticus*, and declared, that what share he had in it, it was with an intention to serve Milo. Coelius therefore alludes to this, and tells Cicero, that he laboured to clear his character from any imputation, and to make *Philotimus* give entire satisfaction to Milo and his friends. The whole affair is related at large, in the following letters to *Atticus*. lib. 5. ep. 8. lib. vi. 4, 5.

⁴ *Σύλλαγμα conscribas.*] This word may be interpreted to signify *volumen*: that is, a work, *quod justū voluminis, aut libri formam habeat.* Coelius desires Cicero to write a treatise, and inscribe it to him; that there may be a lasting monument to posterity of their mutual friendship.

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He leaves the choice of the subject to Cicero; but desires, that it may bear some relation to him, and be replete with erudition, that it may be much read: *διδασκαλίαν quamdam, ut versetur in manus, habeat.*

E P I S T. V.

[INVIDEO tibi.] This letter was written upon the first of August A.U. 702: for he says, that he waited till that day before he wrote to him. *ad Kalendas Sextiles usque expectavi.*

*** Absolutum Messalam.]** Messala was condemned upon the second indictment.

*** C. Marcellum C. factum.]** The election of Marcellus to the consulship, and the repulse of M. Calidius (for so we ought to read it, and not M. Claudium) surprised every one: because the former was an enemy, and the latter a friend to Caesar, whose party was at this time very powerful. Caius Claudius Marcellus is the same, who was nearly related to M. Marcellus the consul A.U. 702. See rem. 3. lib. 4. ep. 21.

Postulatum a Gallis duobus.] Read, *postulatum a Galliis duobus*; that is, M. and Q. Gallii indicted Calidius for bribery. This reading and interpretation of Corradus is greatly confirmed by a passage in the treatise *de claris oratoribus*, c. 80. for it appears from thence, that there was a family quarrel between the Gallii and Calidius. The place deserves to be consulted, but is too long to be transcribed.

*** P. Dolabellam.]** Dolabella was chosen this year *Quindecimvir* in opposition to Lentulus Crus, who was afterwards consul in the year U.C. 704. The office of the *Quindecimviri* consisted as far as can be discovered from ancient authors; first, in the management of the *ludi seculares*. For this we have the positive testimony of Tacitus, lib. xi. Annal. ii. *Nam is, viz. Domitianus, quoque edidit ludos seculares, iisque intentius affui sacerdotio xv.*

viri praeeditus : — *quod non jaſtantia reſero, ſed quia collegio xv. virorum antiquitus ea cura.* Horace alſo alludes to it, *Carm. ſec. 69.* Secondly, in the management of the *ludi Appollinares* ; and thirdly, in taking care of the Sibylline oracles, and inſpecting them, whenever the exigencies of the ſtate required it. For both theſe we have the authority of Servius in *Æneid. 3. 332.* They were originally inſtituted for this laſt purpoſe, and were firſt but two in number, and then called *Duumviri*. After that they were increaſed to ten, then to fifteen ; after that, ſays Servius in another place, *crevit numerus : nam ſexaginta fuerunt. Sed remanſit xv virorum vocabulum.* in *Æneid. vi. 73.* It appears that Dolabella was choſen by the intereſt of the equites.

G. Curio.] *Vid. lib. 2. ep. 1.*

Mea porro comitia.] Coelius tells Cicero, that he could not inform him certainly, what would be the event with regard to himſelf at the enſuing election of curule aediles : but every one had formed an opinion with regard to Hirrus, from what happened at the election of the plebeian aediles. For Vinicianus was rejected with great contempt upon account of his propoſal to nominate Pompey Dictator ; and every one expected, that Hirrus would meet with the ſame treatment, as he had been equally engaged in that ſcheme. *Ep. ad Q. F. 8. lib. 3. Div. lib. 40.* See life of Cicero, v. I. p. 537.

De ſtipendio Pompeii.] Pompey held the government of Spain under the command of three lieutenants, and had an army with them in that province, and another at Ariminum. The debate was about the payment of this army : which naturally led the ſenate to talk of Caefar's army, and particularly of a legion, which he had borrowed of Pompey. They particularly inquired *quo numero eſſet, et quando repeteretur*, (for ſo it ought to be read, inſtead of *quo appeteretur*). And puſhed the point with ſo much warmth,

warmth, that Pompey was at last obliged to comply with their unreasonable zeal so far as to promise to recal that legion.

* *Cybiratas arcessas.*] Vid. ep. 10. lib. iv. Rem.

* *Regem Alexandrinum.*] Ptolemy Auletes, of whom we have spoken so largely in the remarks upon the letters to Lentulus in the first book.

EPIST. VI.

* *QUA tu cura sis.*] There had been a report at Rome for some time, that the Parthians had a design to make an incursion either into the province of Syria or Cilicia. Coelius therefore expresses in this letter a concern for Cicero: because he thought his forces were neither powerful enough to encounter with such an enemy, nor had he such an opinion of his military talents, as to be confident of his success. It seems to have been written soon after that, which precedes it.

* *Successionem futuram propter Galliarum controversiam non video.*] Coelius tells Cicero, that he is afraid the disputes about the disposition of the Gallic provinces will prevent the nomination of a successor to him. For all the old arts will be put in practice; a decree will be moved for, to appoint a successor to Caesar: a tribun will be found to put his negative against it: another tribun of the opposite party will do the same with regard to the disposition of the rest, unless the senate shall be allowed the liberty of settling the Gauls as well as the others. This sport will be played over and over again, till perhaps your second year is expired.

In quodam incili.] This is a proverb expressed in an elliptical manner, and is thus compleated: *Sane, tanquam aqua in quodam incili haeret, jam omnia adhaeserunt.* For Festus explains *Inciles* to be *fossae, quae in viis sunt ad deducendam aquam, sive derivationes de rivo communi factae.*

And every one knows that *aqua haeret* is a proverb frequently made use of either to express an interruption and cessation of any business or design; or else a difficulty to determine what to do in it. Thus Cicero, *in hac causa mihi aqua haeret*, Epist. ad Q. F. 3. 8. We are obliged to Manutius for *incili*; the reading of the MSS. being *incilicia*, *incilia*, &c. Dr. Mead's MS. hath not either this letter or the two preceding ones, or the greater part of the third.

³ *Neque adhuc frequentem senatum.*] This passage, and some more of the same kind, leave no room to doubt, but that a certain number of senators was required by law as necessary to give force to a decree, yet that number is seldom specified in ancient authors, except in one or two cases. For example; when the *Bacchanalian rites* were prohibited, it was decreed, that no one should be permitted to use them without a licence granted by the senate, when an hundred members were present; and probably that was the number, when the senate consisted of three hundred; but afterwards, when it consisted of five hundred, we find that the senate had not a power to absolve a person from the obligation of the laws, unless two hundred senators were present: Liv. 39. 18. Ascon. in orat. pro Cornel. 1. Middleton on the Roman Senate, p. 165.

Quod si, hoc anno praeterito.] The editions differ much in reading the conclusion of this letter. The best reading seems to be this; *quod si, hoc anno praeterito, Curio tribunus, et eadem actio de provinciis introibit: quam facile tunc sit omnia impedire; et quam hoc Caesari, qui sua causa rempublicam non curet, suppetat, non te fallit*; that is, if after this year is expired, Curio should be tribune, and the same thing be again debated, you are not ignorant how easy it will be for Caesar, who only regards his own interest, to interrupt all kind of business.

EPIST. VII.

¹ *SIC tu, inquis, Hirrum.*] This letter was written by Coelius upon the second of September, and gives an account in the beginning of it of his success against Hirrus, in the contention for the curule Ædileship.

² *Expectationem corripit.*] This place will admit of two interpretations: either Hirrus may be understood to reprehend or blame the patience of the senate in suffering Caesar to continue in Gaul. And in this sense *corripio* seems to be used in the third letter of this book. *Maximis clamoribus judices corripuerunt.* Or else *expectationem* may be referred to the time allowed to Caesar by his commission, and Hirrus may be understood to make frequent motions to recal him home within a shorter time; and by that means *corripere expectationem*, or *shorten the time of his continuance there.* This seems to be the true meaning, and it is supported by a passage in Ovid. *Metam.* ix. 28.

*Faveant tibi numina saltem,
Corripiantque moras.*

For *corripere moram* is the same as *corripere expectationem.* So also Virgil. *Æn.* 5. 316.

*Signoque repente,
Corripiunt spatia, audito.*

³ *Agit causas liberales.*] Hirrus affected to act the patriot at this time. We ought therefore to read with Gronovius, *agit causam libertatis.* Coelius very pleasantly observes, that he who scarce ever before appeared in the forum, or undertook a private cause, now undertakes the cause of the republic. *Sed raro post meridiem.* For his intemperance by that time will have rendered him incapable of it.

Praedia

Praedia rustica.] This relates to the division of the Campanian lands, which Curio proposed to divide amongst the people.

Quos fructuarios.] Who pay a tribute to certain cities.

Favonium a columnariis.] Favonius was a citizen of more honesty and virtue, than prudence. He affected to imitate Cato, and upon that account had many enemies. He was most probably a candidate for the praetorship this year, and obtained it. For he was Aedile two years before, and is said A.U. 704, when Pompey fled out of Italy, to be of Praetorian dignity. He must therefore have been Praetor in the year 703, and have been elected at the Praetorian comitia, which happened sometime before the writing of this letter. Coelius alludes to his election in this place, and tells Cicero, that he would not have him think, that all the enemies to Favonius were amongst the lower and meaner sort of people; for some of the honest men voted against him. The *Columnarii*, *Subrostrani*, and *Subbasilicani*, are all names for the idle people, who are unemployed in any business, and are constantly loitering in the porticos, and other public places of resort in the city. Hence Horace, Sat. 2. 6. 50.

Frigidus a rostris manat per compita rumor.

Canidius.] Dr. Mead's MS. which hath the latter part of this letter, reads *Calidius*, which is the true reading. See rem. 3. ep. 5. h. 1.

EPIST. VIII.

ETSÍ de republica.] This letter was written most probably some time in October A.U. 702.

Calumniam tulisse.] It hath been observed rem. 3. ep. 1. lib. 1. that *calumnia* signifies a groundless plea or false pretence for any thing. And in this place it is used in the same sense to signify an action at law, or accusation, that hath

hath been brought against another without any sufficient reason : and *calumniam ferre* signifies to be found guilty of carrying on a groundless and vexatious suit ; it is an expression of the same kind with *praemium ferre*, &c. The Roman laws were particularly severe against those, who were discovered to have offended in this point. In criminal causes they inflicted *banishment*, *relegatio in insulam*, and *ordinis amissio*. In civil causes the plaintiff generally deposited a sum of money, which he forfeited, if he was found guilty of *calumnia*, or *bringing on a vexatious suit*. It was done generally in this form, *spondesne decimam partem ejus, quod petis, si calumniatus es?* To which the plaintiff answered, *spondeo, si calumniatus sum*. Cicero alludes to another punishment, of marking a letter upon the foreheads of the false informer, by which they were rendered incapable of accusing any other person again, pro Rosc. Am. c. 20. It was the letter K which was impressed upon them, that being the first letter according to the old orthography in the word *Kalumnia*. Heinec. Antiq. Rom. ad Institut. lib. iv. tit. xvi.

^a *Si extraordinarius reus non accessisset.*] The order, which was generally observed in hearing and determining causes, was according to the time of commencing the suit, so that the cause, which was first begun, was first ended ; and this order was rarely interrupted, unless either where two causes had a connexion with each other, and then it was left to the judgment of the praetor, to bring on their determination together, if he thought proper ; or else in some important causes, which were specified by positive laws, to have the preference given to them before any others ; as in cases of public violence, poison, &c. These causes were called *causae extraordinariae*, and the persons accused *rei extraordinarii*. Rufus therefore made use of this artifice, and accused *Tuccius of violence*, in order to put off his own trial till the next year, when it was likely,

ly, that he would have judges, who would be more favorable to him, than the present set were. Graev. praef. in tom. 2. Antiq. Rom. Heineccii Antiq. Rom. lib. iv. tit. vi.

³ *Sine ullo subscriptore.*] Those persons, who supported the principal accuser in making good his accusation, were called *subscriptores*. Thus Asconius in Orat. in Caecil. *subscriptores dicuntur, qui adjuvare accusatorem causidici solent.* It appears from this place, that *subscriptores* were not absolutely required by the law, though it was disreputable for an accuser to appear without some to assist and support him; neither had custom determined any particular number to be necessary. For P. Sylla, when he accused Gabinius, had three: *Gabinium de ambitu reum fecit P. Sylla, subscribente priviguo Memmio, fratre Caecilio, Sylla filio.* ad Q. Frat. ep. 3. lib. 3. Lentulus, who accused M. Aquilius, had but one. There is a passage in the oration against Caecilius, which makes me suspect, that they were sometimes added to the accuser, in order to prevent his prevarication; and that seems to have been done, when the accuser was not the injured person himself, but only employed by him; as in the case of Cicero against Verres. The passage is this: *sed de custode sic vobis respondebo: non esse hos viros commissuros, ut ad causam tantam quisquam subscriptor, me invito, adspirare possit. Etenim fides mea custodem repudiat.* c. 16. Rosin. Antiq. Rom. ix. 19.

Ad subsellia rei occurro.] *In praesentem rem venio, praesum.*

⁵ *Si quid injuriis suis esset.*] It appears from two of Cicero's letters to Atticus, that there was a dispute between Rufus and Vestorius; and that they had agreed to chuse Cicero to be the *arbitrator* between them. The day of hearing was appointed; Vestorius came, but Rufus did not appear. Coelius alludes to this, and tells Cicero, that
in

in his speech against Rufus he introduced the affair, which he had with Vestorius, and put him in mind of the concession, which he made to him out of respect to Cicero, if he had any real claims upon Vestorius. For I think we ought to read: *si quid in juribus suis esset, quod teneret Vestorius*. This reading is supported by one MS. Victorius reads: *si quid injuriis suis esset, ut Vestorius teneret*. Gronovius: *si quid in Thuriis suis esset, ut Vestorius teneretur*. Lambin: *si quid juris sui esset, ut eo Vestorius teneretur*. Ep. ad Attic. lib. 5. ep. 2. lib. 6. ep. 2.

[*Postulante Pausania*.] As far as I can understand this affair, it seems to have been this: M. Servilius, who had extravagantly spent his whole fortune, was accused by Pausanias before M. Juventius Laterensis of the crime of *peculatus*, or *embezzling of public money*. The Julian law, which was the latest that took any notice of this crime, ordained, that the convicted person should repay thrice as much as he had taken from the public; and gave a discretionary power to the praetor, of granting a commission to recover the money from any other person, to whom the possession had been transferred by the criminal. This was done in order to prevent a fraudulent conveyance to the injury of the public. But the praetor would not admit of this in the case of Servilius: *neque Laterensis praetor, postulante Pausania, nobis patronis, quo ea pecunia pervenisset, recipere voluit*. scil. *Servilium*. And upon this account: *Quod Pilius necessarius Attici nostri de repetundis eum postulavit*. For a first hearing was always given to an accusation of *repetundarum*, and a preference to the claimant of recovering damages before any other, either from what remained in the possession of the convicted person, or from any one else, *quo ea pecunia pervenisset*. If this is the right explication of this place, of which I have no reason to doubt, the punctuation of it is in the following manner: *neque Laterensis praetor, postulante Pausania,*
nobis

nobis patronis, quo ea pecunia pervenisset, recipere voluit; quod Pilius necessarius Attici nostri de repetundis eum postulavit. Magna illico fama surrexit. Vid. Sigon. de Judic. lib. 2. c. x.

[Appius minor.] This probably was a nephew of P. Clodius, and younger son of C. Claudius. Afconius mentions him in *Arg. Orat. pro Mil. Postulaverunt apud Pompeium familiam Milonis exhibendam duo adolescentuli, qui Appii Claudii ambo appellabantur, qui erant C. Claudii filii, qui frater fuerat Clodii.* This Appius minor started up, as a new accuser of Servilius, and charged him with being bribed by his father, to prevaricate in his evidence against him. Coelius laughd at the ridiculous behavior of this young man. For 1st, by accusing Servilius of prevarication, he tacitly acknowledged his own father to have been guilty of the crimes, with which he had been charged. And 2^{dly}, for bringing this cause before the same judges who had acquitted his father; for if they condemned Servilius, they would in effect blame their former sentence against the father of Appius. It may be here inquired, what pretence Appius could have to expect this accusation should be heard before the accusation of Pilius? and the answer is: that it was an appendage of another cause, which had been before tried, and upon that account claimed the preference. See an instance of this, in *Orat. pro Cluentio.*

* *Qui lites aestimarunt.*] Those who had set the fine.

° *Quod singuli ordines judicassent.*] The judges were divided in this trial of Servilius; half of them acquitted him, and the other half condemned him. But *Laterensis* the praetor not knowing the law, declared, what each order of the judges decreed concerning him, by reckoning the votes of each order by themselves; and finding, that two orders acquitted him, he pronounced the usual words: *non redigam.* It appears from what follows, that these

these words were made use of to dismiss a criminal, that was acquitted, though they are not to be found in any other place of antiquity, which I know of. After this, Laterensis consulting the law, found that the validity of a sentence was grounded upon a majority of the whole number of votes reckoned promiscuously; therefore, instead of registering the acquitment of Servilius, he only registered the opinion of each of the three orders of judges: so that in effect Servilius was neither acquitted nor condemned.

¹ *Postulante rursus Appio.*] Appius observing the state of his adversary, renewed the accusation; but not venturing to dispute with *Pilius* the right of accusing, he yielded it up to him, without waiting for the determination of the judges. A. Gellius hath explained in the following manner the meaning of *divinatio*. II. 4: *cum de constituendo accusatore quaeritur, judiciumque super ea re redditur, cuinam potissimum ex duobus pluribusve accusatio subscriptiove in reum permittatur, ea res atque judicium cognitio, divinatio appellatur.*

² *Auctoritatesque perscriptae.*] Coelius passes on to give Cicero some account of the public affairs and of the debates in the Senate about the recalling Caesar and the disposition of the Gallic provinces. He sends him the copies of one *Senatus-consultum* and three *auctoritates senatus*. vid. rem. 8. ep. 2. l. 1. The meaning of *auctoritates* in this place is different from the meaning of *auctoritas* in the next line. For here it signifies the decrees, which the senate intended to make, but were prevented by the intercession of a tribun: but there the names of those senators, who were present at the drawing of it up, *qui scribendo adfuerunt*, and principally concerned in promoting it. We must therefore undoubtedly read with Gronovius *S. C. auctoritates*.

³ *L. Villius Lucii F. Pomt. Annalis*] That is, Lucius Villius Annalis the son of Lucius *ex tribu Pomtina*. C. Septimius the son of Lucius *ex tribu Quirina*. C. Luccaeus Hirrus the son of Caius *ex tribu Pupinia*. C. Scribonius Curio the son of Caius *ex tribu popilia*. L. Atteius Capito the son of Lucius *ex tribu Aniensis*. M. Oppius the son of Marcus *ex tribu Terentina*. The Roman people were at the time of writing this letter divided into thirty five tribes, which were again divided into *rusticae* and *urbanae*, and took their name either from some remarkable place of the city; or principal town in the region, to which they belonged, or chief family of the tribe. Thus: *Tribus esquilina urbana* took its name from the *esquiline mount*, one of the seven hills, upon which Rome was built. *Tribus Pomtina* from *Pontium*, the name of a city. *Tribus Papiria* from the *Papirian family*. Romulus first instituted this division, but divided his small city only into three parts. He borrowed the name from the Athenians, who called the third part of one of their *ῥημοί, τρίτος* which in the Aeolic dialect is *τρίτος*, vid. Graev. praefat. in I. tom. Antiq. Rom.

⁴ *Quod M. Marcellus C. V. F.*] *Quod Marcus Marcellus Cos. verba fecit de provinciis consularibus, de ea re ita censuerunt.* Whereas Marcus Marcellus the consul made a motion concerning the consular provinces: the opinion of the senate upon it was this.

⁵ *Sex abducere liceret*] Manutius reads: *eos abducere liceret*, in this sense, that whenever it should be proposed to the senate, they might summon from the courts of judicature any of the three hundred persons, who were then judges in order to fill the senate.

⁶ *ſ. V.*] These two letters have afforded room for a variety of conjectures. Victorius owns that he cannot explain the meaning of them. Gronovius thinks that we ought to read either A. V. for *auctoritas* or A. D. for *ante diem*

diem. But Manutius determines them to belong to the foregoing decree, and that we ought to read JR. an abbreviation for *intercessum*. But, whatever may be thought of the conjecture of Gronovius, Manutius is certainly mistaken, for that decree was passed without the intercession or negative of any tribun. A MS. of Graevius may probably lead one to the true reading, for in that instead of IV it is thus written III. I doubt not therefore, but that it ought to be joined to the conclusion of the preceding decree: and that we ought to read T or TR. For those letters were usually added to those decrees of the senate, which passed without an intercession. Thus Valerius Maximus lib. 2. c. 2: *Veteribus senatus-consultis T litera subscribi solebat: eaque nota significabatur, ita tribunos quoque censuisse*. Valerius indeed does not mention TR; but that was an usual abbreviation of *Tribunus*. vid. Sertor. Ursat. de Abbrev. R.

⁷ *Quo minus de R. P. Q. P. &c.*] That is: *quo minus de republica quam primum ad senatum referri, senatusque consultum fieri possit*.

⁸ *Itemque senatui placere*] This decree ordained, that the province of Cilicia, and the eight remaining praetorian provinces should be supplied with governors from the present praetors. But if their number was not sufficient to fill up the vacancies agreeably to the terms of the decree, the members of each preceding college of praetors, who had never held any foreign command, were to divide the vacant provinces among themselves by lot. The number of praetors at this time was eight, and the praetors of every year made a distinct and separate college.

EPIST. IX.

¹ *PRIMUM tibi ut debeo*] Cicero congratulates Coelius upon account of his success in being chosen Aedile in opposition to Hirrus; laughs at the ridiculous figure, which his adversary made at that time, and excuses himself for not paying this compliment sooner. For the letter seems not to have been written till the latter end of the year U. C. 702.

² *Sperata tua dignitate*] The expected honors, to which Cicero alludes in this place, are the praetorship and consulship, to the obtaining of which the Aedileship was a necessary step. And besides; the great majority, which Coelius had in this election was an omen of his future success in obtaining the higher honors of the state. Dr. Mead's MS. reads *ignorantia* instead of *ignoratione*.

³ *Quemadmodum scripseras*] Ep. 4. *nam me, si fio—tota vita risus nobis deesse non poterit*. Cicero goes on to tell Coelius how he was affected, when he first heard the news of his success; that he put himself in the place of Hirrus and represented to his imagination all the noble youth whom that fellow used to boast to have under his command. Then he applies some passages from an ancient poet, but we are not able to make out the propriety of the application for want of knowing more of them.

EPIST. X.

¹ *TU vide, quam ad me literae non perferantur*] The date of this letter may precisely be determined in the following manner. Cicero tells Coelius, that he wrote it upon the twenty fifth day after he had undertaken the siege of Pindenissum. But in a letter to Atticus he says, that town surrendered upon the 47th day after he had begun the siege, or the seventeenth of December;

ber ; wherefore, by reckoning backward, we shall find that the 25th day of the siege will coincide with the 26th or 27th of November, and therefore that this letter was written upon that day. ad Attic. lib. v. ep. 20.

² *De Hillo, balbus enim sum, quod non putaram.*] *Hirrus* and *Balbus* are two words, which express two opposite faults in pronunciation. Those persons who pronounced the letter R too hastily were called *Hirri*, from *Hirriendo*. Others, who could not pronounce it at all, but liquidated it into some other letter, were called *Balbi*. Cicero therefore, being an old enemy to *Hirrus*, jocosely says, that he with regard to *Hirrus* is *Balbus*, and writes his name, as a person, who had that imperfection of speech, would have pronounced it. Bentlei. not. in Horat. Sat. lib. i. 3. 47. He alludes to the same thing below, and uses two words, which begin with an R : *sed Balbi non sumus : ad rem redeamus.*

³ *Ut optasti.*] vid. Ep. 6. h. l.

⁴ *Ad Amanum exercitum adduxi.*] vid. Ep. 4. lib. xv.

⁵ *Clitarchus tibi narravit.*] Clitarchus was a Greek Historian, who accompanied Alexander in his Eastern expedition. Quintilian hath given this short but comprehensive character of him : *Clitarchi probatur ingenium, fides infamatur.* lib. x. c. i.

Pindenissum.] vid. Lib. v. ad Attic. Ep. 20. Life of Cicero, v. 2. p. 26.

⁶ *Sin id erit—spissius.*] If the appointing a successor shall go on slowly, as I fear it will ; at least take care, that my time be not prolonged.

EPIST. XI.

¹ *SANE quam literis C. Cassii et Deiotari.*] Coelius wrote this letter in the month of November, before he had received any from Cicero, concerning the state of the province, and his military proceedings. But C. Cas-

sius, who had been quaestor to M. Crassus in the Parthian expedition, and was still in Syria, had written word to Rome of the invasion of the Parthians, and his intelligence was at first suspected to have been false, upon account of Cicero's silence, till it had been confirmed by letters from *Deiotarus*, king of Galatia, and a faithful ally of the Romans.

² *Ut paludati exeant.*] Consuls or generals of an army, when they marched out upon any military expedition, were dressed in a vestment appropriated to war, which was called *paludamentum*. Hence they were said to march out *paludati*.

Ne aut velificatus] Dr. Mead's MS. reads *bellificatus*; but the other is better.

³ *Cujusmodi putas hos esse.*] He means the two consuls, M. Marcellus, and Servius Sulpicius. See Life of Cicero, v. 2. p. 54.

⁴ *L. Paulus.*] *L. Æmilius Paulus*, the consul elect, at this time supposed to have been an enemy to Caesar as well as Curio; but Caesar privately gained them both by immense bribes. Sueton. J. Caes. 29.

⁵ *Ne vacuus advenienti Caesari pateat.*] Curio endeavored to procure a division of the lands in Campania: Coelius says, that it was reported, that Caesar did not care whether they were divided or no; but Pompey wished they might be divided, that they might not fall into Caesar's hands, and so be given, when he returned, to his army: *de quo negant*. That is, *dicunt non Caesarem laborare; sed Pompeium dicunt valde nolle*. For *nego* is plainly to be resolved in that place into *dico non*, in the same manner as *negor* is *dicor non* in the following lines. Consolat. ad Liv. Aug. 151.

Ultima contigimus: jus matris habemus ab uno:

Unius est munus, quod tamen orba negor.

Vacuum ager signifies in this place the land, *qui a nemine adbu-*

adhuc tenetur. So de Offic. 1. 7 : Sunt autem privata nulla natura : sed aut veteri occupatione, ut qui quondam in vacua venerunt.

EPIST. XII.

¹ *NON dubito.*] This letter was written very early in the year U. C. 703. Concerning Dolabella's accusing Appius, see the Remarks upon Ep. x. lib. 3.

² *Quid mihi discedens mandaritis, memini.*] Cicero seems to have recommended the procuring a husband for his daughter to Coelius. For Coelius alludes to such instructions as those in this place. Dolabella therefore having just now parted with his wife, Coelius insinuates to Cicero, that he would be a proper husband for her ; but desires him not to discover his sentiments about it, lest he should be suspected to have privately encouraged the impeachment of Appius ; since the principal person concerned in it was he, whom he would perhaps like for a son-in-law. An accuser first desired leave of the praetor to prefer an indictment : this was called *postulatio*. A day was then appointed when the name of the person accused was to be produced by him, and this was called *nominis delatio*.

Consepta omnia.] Some read *consecrata*, others *conficta*. The MSS. are all very corrupt, and the reading in the text agrees as well with them as any other, and will admit of as good an interpretation : *consepta omnia, seu foeda et inhonesta, sunt*. We absolve, says Coelius, every one here. Every thing base and dishonest is secure from punishment. *Omnia consepta, tuta, et munita sunt*. Though the Consuls are diligent, yet nothing is done. Even Curio is quiet in his magistracy, and every thing will continue so, unless I, as Ædile, make a disturbance amongst the people under my jurisdiction, the masters of the taverns and the aqueducts.

² *Potuit sine Parthis.*] Read with Gronovius *potius sine Parthis.*

⁴ *Quia de intercalando non obtinuerat.*] Curio began to be suspected now of an inclination to change his party. For, not obtaining what he wanted about the inserting or leaving out the intercalatory month, he deserted the senate out of resentment, and spoke in defence of Caesar.

⁵ *Viariam.*] Curio took the usual step of popular tribuns; he endeavoured to recommend himself to the people by two laws, one of which is called *viaria*, because it related to the public roads, and made some regulations with regard to the expences of travelling; the other *alimentaria*, because it related to a division of corn amongst the poor citizens. This latter had been often attempted by C. Gracchus, Saturninus, and P. Clodius. Epit. Liv. 60. Appian. lib. 2. de Bell. civ. Ep. ad Attic. lib. 6.

EPIST. XIII.

¹ *QUAM cito.*] This letter seems to have been written immediately after that, which goes before it: *tuo liberto pluribus verbis scriptas pridie dederam.* It relates to nothing but some secret history of private families.

² *Cornificius adolescens Oristellae filiam.*] Nothing can be more ingenious than the conjecture of Manutius, who reads *Cornificius adolescentiorem Syllae filiam sibi despondit.*

³ *Paula Valeria.*] We may observe from hence, that women among the Romans sometimes bore the *cognomina* belonging to their families. They are to be met with frequently in ancient inscriptions. We have an Instance of *Paula* in this, which follows:

P. POSTHUMENIÆ

P. F

PAULÆ

AVIDIÆ. PROCULÆ

RUTILIÆ. PROBÆ

SACERD. D. JUL. AUGUST.

D. D.

Petri Servii Mifcel. c. 7.

Nondum retulerat.] scil. *domum*. Thus Horace, Sat. I.
6. 15.

————— *inde domum me*

Ad porri et ciceris refero laganique catinum.

EPIST. XIV.

M. FABIO.] Concerning M. Fabius and the buisness, which is recommended to the patronage of Coelius in this letter See Ep. 15. lib. 9. and the Remarks upon it.

EPIST. XV.

PUTARESNE *unquam accidere posse.*] Cicero wrote this letter in the beginning of April A. U. 703. for he wrote it upon the day, on which the *Ludi Megalenses* were celebrated at Rome. Livy fixes this upon the 12th of that month. For, after relating the pompous reception of *Magna Mater*, in whose honor these sports were instituted, he concludes: *in aedem victoriæ, quæ est in palatio, pertulere deam pridie Idus April. isque dies festus fuit. Populus frequens dona deæ in palatium tulit lætisterniumque et ludi fuere Megalesia appellata.* lib. 29. 14. But the ancient Roman calendars, and Ovid in his *Fæsti* fixes it upon the 3d of April. Either therefore the copies of Livy are corrupt, and we ought to read *pridie non. April.* or else the time of celebrating them was altered after the

original institution ; or, what is more probable, Ovid and the calendars mark out the beginning of these sports, Livy the ending of them. For I think it not unlikely, but that the Romans began to celebrate these sports upon the day, when the goddess arrived at the mouth of the Tiber, and continued them to the day, on which she was brought to Rome, and lodged in the temple of Victory ; which was the day of greatest rejoicing during the whole festival. If this conjecture be true, Cicero wrote his letter upon the 12th of April, and was put in mind of the office and employment of his friend, by the day. For the *Ædiles* presided over these sports as well as most others. Liv. 29. 14. Ovid. 1v. 179. Masson. Ovid. vit. 67. Cicero. de Aruf. resp. 12.

EPIST. XVI.

¹*RARAS tuas quidem.*] This letter was evidently written about a month after that, which precedes it, and is an answer to the letter from Coelius, which is the twelfth of this book.

²*Occidit Phania.*] This person was a freed man of *Appianus*. Ep. 1. lib. 3. The commentators have much puzzled themselves to find out a reason, why Cicero calls him *καμικὸς μάρτυς*, a comic evidence. Erasmus hath ventured to introduce another reading, but contrary to the authority of all the MSS. For he thinks we ought to read *οἰκικὸς* or *οἰκοθεν μάρτυς*. *Domesticus testis*. Dr. Mead's MS. contrary to its usual custom, retains the Greek words here in latin characters, and hath *comicos martis*; though in most other places the Greek words are omitted, and vacant spaces left for them to be inserted by some other hand. But there is no occasion to look after another reading, the present will admit of a plain and natural meaning. The name of this person was a name that was often given

given to the servants and freed men in the ancient comedies. It being of the same kind with *Sofia*, *Sanga*, *Geta*, and others.

Jam me Pompeii.] That you may not doubt, says Cicero, of my friendly sentiments to Appius, recollect my friendship with Pompey and Brutus. A son of the former hath married one of the daughters of Appius, and the latter hath married another. Vid. ep. x. lib. 3.

Collegam.] In the college of Augurs.

Extrema pagella.] Coelius in the former part of the letter to which this is an answer, made use of an amanuensis; but added the news of Curio's changing his party in his own hand-writing. Vid. ep. 12.

Publicanis etiam superioris lustris.] The publicans or farmers of the public revenues had demands upon several cities in Cicero's provinces for some years past. Cicero, by his frugal management, enabled these cities either to pay their debts, or to give such security, as satisfied their creditors. Cicero gives an account to Atticus of this thing: *populi autem nullo gemitu publicanis, quibus hoc ipso lustro nihil solverant, etiam superioris lustris reddiderunt.* The revenues of the republic were farmed out every five years by the censors: and it is well known, that *lustrum* signifies that period, ep. ad Attic. 2. lib. vi.

EPIST. XVII.

SOLLICITUS equidem eram.] This letter was written sometime in June; for he observes, that before Coelius would receive it, he should have finished the year of his government. This expired the first of August.

Quinquatrus.] This was a festival instituted to the honor of Minerva, it began upon the nineteenth of March, and lasted five days, whence in the opinion of Ovid it had its name: but Varro and Festus both agree in saying, that it took its name according to the practice of the Italians, from

from its being celebrated upon the fifth day after the ides. For thus they called the third day after the ides, *triatrus*; the sixth, *sexatrus*; the seventh, *septimatus*. Varro de ling. 5. 3. Festus in Voc. Ovid. Fast. 3. 809.

¹ *Urbem, urbem, mi Rufe.*] Cicero formed his own conduct upon this plan, and always endeavoured to keep himself in the sight of his fellow-citizens. For upon a pleasant disappointment which he met with himself, he made this reflection; *populum Romanum aures hebetiores, oculos acres atque acutos habere, destiti, quid de me audituri essent homines, cogitare: feci, ut postea quotidie me praesentem viderent: habitavi in oculis*, pro Planc. 26. Life of Cic. v. 1. 65.

EPIST. XVIII.

¹ *NON diu, sed acriter.*] Cicero after the victory at Amanus, and the taking of Pindenissum, wrote to his friends at Rome to procure him a public thanksgiving. His letter to Coelius upon this occasion is not extant. But Coelius in this gives an account of the difficulties, with which they met, in transacting that affair. This letter did not come to Cicero's hands till after he had sent the preceding.

² *Cui omnibus rationibus comitiales eripiebantur.*] *Dies comitiales* were those days, which are marked in the Roman kalendars with the letter C, and set apart by law for the assemblies of the people. Curio, who at this time acted openly for Caesar, and had been proposing several popular laws, was prevented from establishing them by the consuls, and particularly by Paulus, who always took care to dissolve the assemblies of the people, by observing the heavens, and taking the auspices. This is what is meant by *comitiales dies eripere*. Curio in his turn threatened to stop all the decrees in the senate by his negative. And though he was well disposed to grant Cicero a public thanksgiving, yet,

yet, that he might appear to act with uniformity, he threatened to stop the decrees for thanksgivings.

³ *Praevaricator causae publicae.*] Curio recommended himself very much to the favour of the people, upon account of the furious opposition, which the consuls made against him; and that he might not lose the advantage, which he had acquired by their intemperate zeal, nor appear to betray the cause of the people, he determined not to yield in the smallest point. Ulpian. l. 45. *Praevaricator est, quasi varicator est, qui diversam partem adjuvat, prodita causa sua.* When Cicero's friends found, that this was Curio's resolution, they prevailed upon the consuls to drop all other decrees of this kind, except Cicero's; and though he was obliged to both of them for this concession, yet he was more obliged to Paulus, who declared readily, that he would proclaim no other thanksgiving but Cicero's; whereas Marcellus only coolly said, that he would drop them, because he had other security against the madness and fury of Curio.

⁴ *Hirrum diutius dicturum.*] Coelius says, that it was told him that Hirrus intended to lengthen out the day by speaking, so as to leave no time to finish the affair at that meeting; but he was so far from doing it, that afterwards, when they were debating about the enemies, and he might have effectually prevented it by calling out to the consul to number the Senate, he held his peace. See Middleton on the R. senate, p. 164.

⁶ *Decrerant quidem, qui neque.*] Dr. Mead's MS. reads *inique*. But we ought to read with Gronovius, *qui nequaquam transigi volebant*. The *Domitii* and *Scipiones* appear to have been always backward in serving Cicero, and in this affair, though they durst not vote against him, yet they secretly wished he might not succeed. They called out upon Curio to put in his negative; but he smartly replied, *se eo libentius non intercedere*, that he would more willingly with-

withdraw it, because he knew, that they wished he would not, though they did not declare it openly.

* *Secundus consulatus.*] A.U. 698. Curio was then united in close friendship with Caesar, and contributed all he could to encrease his power.

* *In primis ludorum explosiones.*] Graevius not recollecting that shews were exhibited at funerals to please the people, as well as at the public sports, hath introduced a pointing in this place different from that of the text. But it is quite unnecessary. For *explosiones funerum* happened as often as *explosiones ludorum*, whenever the vices of the dead person were odious and ridiculous, or his character unpopular. Vid. Sueton. in Vespas. c. 19. Coelius sent with this letter a *commentarius rerum urbanarum*, a diary or newspaper, in which the common and ordinary occurrences in the city were related.

EPIST. XIX.

* *GRATULOR tibi affinitate viri.*] The new alliance, upon which Coelius congratulates Cicero, is the marriage of his daughter with Dolabella.

Ætate sunt decursa.] Gronovius reads *decussa*.

* *Lautum intercessionis — exitum.*] A motion was made in consequence of the decree, which is in the eighth letter of this book, to dispose of the consular provinces. Curio interposed with his negative. Upon this there arose a debate. Marcellus proposed to apply to the tribuns to take off the negative. The greater part of the senate rejected this, and the affair was dropt. Pompey was much displeased, and discovered great uneasiness. After this they agreed to the other question, whether in the ensuing *consular comitia* they should pay any regard to the pretences of a candidate, who refused to dismiss his army, and to resign his province?

Quem-

³ *Quemadmodum hoc Pompeius.*] Dr. Mead's MS. reads this place thus: *quemadmodum hoc Pompeius laturus est ista cum agnoscam quodam reipublicae futurus sit, si aut non curet vos senes divites videretis.* And all the other MSS. agree in omitting *si aut non possit*. One or two MSS. read *cum et cognoscat*. The place is mutilated and imperfect; but it may be read in the following manner, *quemadmodum hoc laturus sit Pompeius, cum et cognoscat quidnam reipublicae futurus sit, et non curet, vos senes divites videritis.*

⁴ *Q. Hortensius, cum has literas.*] The news of Hortensius's death was brought to Cicero in Cilicia, for he mentions it in a letter to Atticus, which was written several days before he left that province. *ad Attic. lib. 6. ep. 6. de Hortensio te certo scio dolere. Equidem excrucior, decreram enim cum eo valde familiariter vivere.*

EPIST. XX.

¹ *NON potuit accuratius agi.*] This letter is an answer to the two preceding letters, and likewise informs Coelius of the person into whose hands Cicero had resigned his province; his name was C. Coelius Caldus. But I have no occasion to say any thing more of him in this place, than to refer my reader to the ninth letter of the second book, and the remarks upon it.

Prudentia temperari posse, scio.] *Quae Tulliae prudentia,* tanquam remedio, *tolli posse speras.* For *temperari* signifies in this place the same as *mederi*. Thus also Cicero uses *temperatio* and *temperamentum* in the sense of *remedium*, *lib. 3. de leg. 12. sed praesto est hujus vitii temperatio, quod senatus lege nostra confirmatur auctoritas, c. x. inventum est temperamentum, quo tenuiores cum principibus aequari se putarint.*

Quam ego tum ex tuis literis misi ad Appium.] *Vid. ep. x. lib. 3.*

Caesarem

Collegium tentasse.] Without doubt we ought to read *collegam* in this place, and understand by it L. Piso, Appian's colleague in the censorship. Those editors who have retained the other reading, have interpreted it to relate to the college of Augurs; but without any sense or reason.

² *Velle hoc munusculum.*] When I found, says Coelius, that he was treating with my enemies; when I found, that he had a mind by accusing me to do a favor to Pompey, I could not prevail upon myself to make any applications to him, whose life I had saved, to desist from doing me a injury. For that I think is the meaning of *deferre munusculum Pompeio*. Others understand it in a different manner. The following words must be read thus in the opinion of Gronovius, agreeably to the interpretation which I have given of them; *ipsum ut prenderem, et ab eo deprecarer injuriam, quem vitam mihi debere putavam, impetrare a me non potui*.

³ *Compellari ea lege me voluerunt.*] The phrase *ponere accusatorem*, or *apponere*, properly signifies the same as *subornare aliquem ut accuset*. The latter is most frequent in Cicero; but there are not wanting instances of the former, besides that, in this letter. The instance quoted by Grævius out of the first oration against Verres, is read in his own edition as well as in all the others *apponitur*, c. 29. But see Or. Phil. 2. 18. pro domo. c. 44. *When therefore*, says Coelius, *they could not suborn an accuser against me, they resolved themselves to accuse me upon a law, by which they had nothing to object against me, for they indicted me upon the Scantinian law*, or rather, as it ought to be read, *Scatinian law*. This law taking its name from C. Scatinus Aricinus the author of it. A. U. 601. It prohibited unnatural love of persons of the same sex. Pigh. Annal. Suet. Domit. c. 8.

⁴ *Caepi Sacellum.*] It appears from a passage in Livy, lib. 40. c. 51. that it was unlawful for any private person to appropriate to his own private use the shrines which belonged

belonged to the public; the taking care of this belonged to the censors. Coelius therefore seems to charge Appius with being guilty of a breach of discipline himself, which he by his office ought to have punished in another. Vid. Fabric. descr. Urb. Rom. c. 9.

¹ *Scis Domitio diem timori esse.*] Not a day of trial as it is interpreted by Gronovius, but a day of election. See the second remark upon the following letter.

EPIST. XXII.

¹ *TANTI non fuit Arsacen capere.*] Coelius jocosely tells Cicero, that it was not worth his while to lose the entertainment, which he might have had at Rome, for the sake of seizing a king of the Parthians, and attacking his citadel; and then goes on seriously to give him an account of the state of the public affairs, and to prepare him for the part, which he should chose to act upon his arrival at Rome. This letter was written in the latter end of the year U. C. 703.

² *Si in repulsa Domitii vultum.*] L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and M. Antony were candidates for a place in the college of Augurs in the room of Hortensius. Antony carried the day by the strength of his party; because few regarded any thing else in giving their votes: for that I take to be the meaning of what follows, *perpauci, necessitudinem secuti, officium praestiterunt.*

³ *Magna illa comitia fuerunt.*] According to the original institution of the college of Augurs, the members had the sole right of filling up the vacant seats, till about the year U. C. 649 or 650. Domitius, a popular tribune, transferred that privilege to the people. It continued in their hands till the year U. C. 672. when C. Sylla, at that time dictator, repealed the Domitian law, and restored the right of election to the college. But the Cornelian law met with the same fate, that the Domitian law had met with before.

before. For about ten years after T. Atius Labienus restored the power to the people, in whose hands it was at the time of writing this letter. Dio. 37. Ascon. in Divinat. Philip. 2.

* *Cn. Saturninum.*] This Cn. Saturninus, who was accused by young Domitius, is probably the same person, who prostituted himself at the infamous entertainment made by Gemellus Tribunicus A. U. 701 for the consul Metellus Scipio, and the tribuns of the people. For Coelius says, that his past life made him very obnoxious to his adversary. The story is related by Valerius Maximus, lib. 9. c. 1. 8. The following sentence is read variously in the MSS. Dr. Mead's hath; *quod judicium non expectationem. Est etiam in bona spe.* Graevius corrects it thus; *quod judicium praeter expectationem est jam in bona spe.* But the reading of the text may perhaps be thought to agree better with the roughness of Coelius's stile.

Sic illi amores.] Coelius alludes to the triumvirate formed by Caesar, Pompey and Crassus A. U. 693. and the marriage of Julia, Caesar's daughter, to Pompey. Life of Cic. v. i. 286.

^s *Scis Appium.*] Vid. ep. x. lib. 3.

De stipendio Pompeii.] Vid. ep. 4. rem. 7.

EPIST. XXIII.

¹ *E*A quando tu hominem ineptiorem.] This letter was written to Cicero about the beginning of March A. U. 704. for he speaks of Pompey's departure from Brundisium as a thing quite certain, though the news had not yet reached him. But Pompey did not set out for Brundisium till the twenty-second of February, nor leave that place till the middle of March. Coelius, who had long since changed his party, speaks with great contempt of Pompey, nor had Cicero a much better opinion of him

at this time, ep. 16. lib. 8. Cicero was most probably at his Formian Villa, ep. 16. lib. 9. ad Attic.

² *Mala orbiculata.*] Do not our soldiers, says Coelius, though they have spent the winter in long and severe marches, look as fresh as if they had enjoyed the greatest plenty, and been fed with the most delicate rarities? *Mala orbiculata* were in high esteem at the tables of the great men at Rome, and made a principal figure in the desert; hence it came to be a general expression for elegant living, in which sense it is used in this place. Putean. reliq. conviv. prisc. Thesaur. R. Antiq. Graev. tom. XII.

³ *Adeo quod Intemelii in armis sunt.*] *Intemelium* was a town in the Alps of some note, situated upon the sea coast at the mouth of the river *Rutuba*, or as it is now called *la Rotta*. *Intemelium* is called in ancient authors *Albium Intemelium*, or *Albintemilium*; hence by throwing away the first syllable, it acquired the name of *Vintimiglia*, which it bears at this day. Coelius was ordered by Caesar to march there to quell the sedition, which had been raised by the treachery of *Bellicenus*, a slave to the governor of the garrison.

⁴ *Ufquequaque, inquires, se Domitii male dant.*] Coelius takes all opportunities to express his hatred of the *Domitii*, and doubts not but that Cicero will agree with him, that they are the cause of mischief every where. Caesar had just now taken *Corfinium*, and had generously dismissed *L. Domitius*, their old enemy and commander of the garrison. Coelius therefore takes an occasion from the late affair at *Intemelium*, to wish that Caesar, *Venere prognatus*, had treated our *Domitius* in the same manner as *Bellicenus Psecade natus* had treated the other. *Psecas* is a common name of a female slave, and Dr. Mead's MS. proves it to be the true reading; for that reads, *quantum ipse cade natus*. It hath also *nostro Domitio*, which is much better than

than *vestro*. The conclusion of the letter: **CICERONI**
F. S. D. is *Ciceroni filio salutem dic.*

EPIST. XXIV.

* **EXANIMATUS** *sum tuis literis.*] Cicero had discovered by some dark hints in one of his letters, that he was actually preparing to leave Italy, and to go to Pompey at Dyracchium. Upon this Coelius sent him the present affecting and pathetic letter to dissuade him from so rash and ruinous a step. It was written about the middle of April. For Cicero sent a copy of it to Atticus upon the eighteenth or nineteenth of that month, and he received a letter from Caesar, which Coelius says, he desired him to write about the same time. It will not be disagreeable to the reader to see in Cicero's own words, how he was affected by Coelius's letter, and what temper of mind he was in at this time. Thus he writes to Atticus; *Utinam meo solum capite decernerem. Lacrymae meorum me interdum molliunt, precantium ut de Hispaniis expectaremus. M. Coelii quidem epistolam, scriptam miserabiliter, cum hoc idem obsecraret, ut expectarem, ne fortunas meas, ne unicam filiam, ne meos omnes tam temere proderem, non sine magno fletu legerunt pueri nostri: etsi meus quidem est fortior, eoque ipso vehementius commovet, nec quidquam nisi de dignatione laborat.* Ep. 9. lib. x.

² *Neque temere tibi praedixisse.*] Vid. ep. 14.

³ *In dimittendis adversariis et conditionibus ferendis.*] He alludes to the generous dismissal of the garrison of Corfinium, and the conditions of peace, which he sent by his kinsman L. Caesar. See life of Cic. v. 2. p. 71.

* *Iratus senatui exiit.*] Caesar went immediately to Rome, when Pompey was hastning to Brundisium, and summoned the senate; but he was much displeased with the behavior of them there. For when he proposed to

send ambassadors to Pompey, though it was well approved by all, yet every one declined the commission. And L. Metellus, the tribun, put in his negative to every motion, and endeavored by violence to hinder him from breaking open the temple of Saturn, where the public money was kept. Caesar de Bell. civ. l. 1. Dio 41. Plutarch: vit. Caes. Ep. ad Attic. lib. x. 4.

⁵ *Quod offensae fuerit.*] In short, reflect, that you have already by your delay incurred the displeasure of Pompey as much as you well can.

⁶ *Quid de Hispaniis.*] Pompey had the province of Spain, under the command of his lieutenants with a powerful army. Caesar therefore, immediately after he had been at Rome, instead of crossing the sea after Pompey, went directly into Spain, and in forty days, from the first sight of his enemy, made himself master of the whole province. It was the issue of this war, which Coelius intreated Cicero to wait for. See Life of Cicero, v. 2. 718.

Ut at te literas mitteret.] These letters are extant in the tenth book of letters to Atticus.

EPIST. XXV.

¹ *MAGNO dolore.*] This is Cicero's answer to the foregoing letter; and notwithstanding his intentions, of going were fixed at this time, he had not confidence enough in Coelius to trust him with the secret. For he endeavours to conceal his departure through the whole letter.

² *T. Ampii.*] vid. Ep. XIII. lib. 6.

Libertate sua contraxerat.] Read with Dr. Mead's MS, *quas liberalitate sua contraxerat.*

³ *Recordor enim desperationes.*] In the civil wars between Sylla and Marius.

Sed tamen togam praetextam.] Toga praetexta was the robe of the consul. He therefore means, that it was reported, that Appius was to be made consul; and jocosely concludes, that Curtius expected one twice dipt, but the Dyer Caesar made him wait.

EPIST. XXVI.

¹ *ERGO me potius.]* This closes the correspondence between Coelius and Cicero. Coelius was praetor A. U. 705, and endeavoring to raise disturbances at Rome, was deposed from his magistracy. This exasperated him against Caesar, and he declared for Pompey. In this disposition he wrote to Cicero, and discovers his resentment by this abrupt beginning: *Hath it been therefore of more advantage to me, to have been in Spain, when you set out for Greece, than to have been with you at Formiae?* by no means. *But I wish either that Appius Claudius had not been on Pompey's side, or Curio had not been on Caesar's, I should not then have united myself to this cursed cause. For my hatred of the one, and my love of the other deprived me at that time of my reason.* This seems to be the full meaning of this place. But the MSS. are so corrupt, that nothing better than the common reading can be collected from them. *Quod utinam aut non A. Claudius in ista parte, aut non C. Curio in hac.* D. Mead's MS. reads: *Quod utinam aut A. Claudius in ista parte prohibuisset, aut C. Curio.*

² *Crudelitatis timor.]* vid. Ep. 2. lib. v. Rem. 2.

³ *Irritavi in me Catonem.]* Dr. Mead's MS. reads: *Aruncaunum me Catonem*; but without any sense. Neither has Cato any thing to do here. Some read: *Irritavi me Crabrones*; others, *in me Caesarem*; but without any authority either from the MSS. or history. The learned Dr. Tunstall has an ingenious conjecture, which will be thought perhaps to remove all the difficulty of the

the place. He observes and proves, by an instance or two, that Cicero makes use of the proverb *ἀνω κάτω*, that is, *sursum deorsum*, when he has a mind to express the unsettled condition of any business or person; and therefore thinks, that Coelius wrote in this place: *irritavi ἀνω κάτω*; that is, *sursum deorsum movi homines ut, Pompeiani esse velint*. This very well agrees with what he had said above: *equidem jam effecti ut maxime plebs, &c.* vid. Tunstall. Epist. ad C. Middleton. p. 127.

* *Quod firmissimum est.*] This is the reading of the MSS; but Gronovius thinks it ought to be, *quo firmissimus est* scil. *Caesar*.

The END of the REMARKS

Upon

The FIRST VOLUME,

The Reader is desired to correct the following errors of the press.

In the Text.

- P.** 13. l. 17. for *profucundae* read *perjucundae*.
P. 46. l. 19. for *llud* read *illud*.
P. 66. l. 18. for *decedere per fore* read *decedere, perfors*.
P. 167. l. 20. for *existmes* read *existmes*.
P. 171. l. 12. for *civis Romanus* read *cives Romanos*.
P. 174. l. 14. for *Ubetiora* read *Uberiora*.
P. 188. l. 15. for *aẽfore* read *aũfore*.
P. 201. l. 12. for *fi neceffe* read *sit neceffe*.
P. 205. l. 1. for *timitur* read *timetur*.
P. 223. l. 11. for *vec enim* read *nec enim*.

In the Remarks.

- P. 263. rem. 2. for *Fulvius* read *Furius*.